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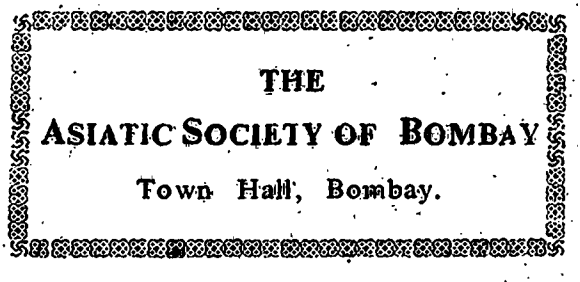

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THE REGENCY

OF

ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

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THE REGENCY

OF

ANNE OF AUSTRIA,

QUEEN REGNANT OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES,

INCLUDING MSS. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE, AND THE ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME DE FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

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BY

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THE

REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER I.

1648—1649.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA ESCAPES FROM PARIS.

On the 24th of October, the day when Anne of Austria gave unwilling sanction, by her sign manual, to the Articles of la Chambre St. Louis, the Treaty of Westphalia was signed at Munster, which gave peace to the Germanic Empire, to Sweden, to the Protestant Princes of Germany, and to the Swiss Cantons, after a warfare of Thirty Years. Spain, exasperated by the defeat of Lens, refused to be comprehended in the pacification, hoping to profit by the troubles and turbulence, which beset her ancient enemy, France. The peace secured to France possession of Les Trois Evêches Metz, Toul, and Verdun, of the town of Pignerol, of Brissac and its dependencies, of a territory in Alsace, with the right of holding garrison in Fribourg. All the allies of France were benefited and satisfied. Sweden got an indemnity of five millions

of crowns, the Isle of Rugen, Lower Pomerania, and Stettin, and other important territories. The Elector Palatine was restored to the Lower Palatinate, and an eighth electorate established in his favour. Switzerland was declared independent. All rights, prerogatives, and lands forfeited by the Bohemian rebellion of 1619 were restored; liberty of conscience was proclaimed throughout the dominions of the Empire; and the Emperor agreed to admit six Lutheran members into the Aulic Council. This treaty—which has been accepted as the model of every other European treaty since promulgated—was the work of Cardinal Mazarin. Reviled and hated by the French, his genius nevertheless had raised the repute of France to the highest renown. Foreseeing the ultimate benefit to France, of compelling the recognition of the independent power of each petty German state; and the right of each prince to negotiate alliances without appeal to his lord paramount the Emperor, Mazarin, following the designs of Henri Quatre, laid the foundation for the eventual breaking up of the vast Germanic Confederation. It was Mazarin, also, who had steadily supported Condé throughout his glorious campaigns: and who had resisted the clamorous demands for a separate peace with Spain, raised at the commencement of the Regency, and which would have entailed an ignoble abandonment of the allies of the crown, and the forfeiture of all the great advantages, present and future, ultimately secured to the realm by the Treaty of Westphalia.

The news of the conclusion of peace at Munster revived the drooping spirits of Queen Anne, and

enabled her to contemplate with less displeasure, a return to the rebel capital. The rejoicings for peace she hoped might melt the acrimony of the Chamber; and afford to the populace a genial theme for acclamation. Anne forbade her ladies to allude to the day when she signed the "odious Declaration," because the remembrance thereof would be eternally painful. She also averred, that she experienced keen pain when she met, or conversed with any personage who had contributed to that edict. She allowed that Mazarin, by his foolish time-serving, had brought affairs to such a pass, which she, however, soon hoped to obviate. The Cardinal, she said, had consented to these odious invasions of the King's prerogative out of policy, and not by inclination. Her title of Queen was of little use, if she were not mistress of her servants, and of her realm. So spake Anne of Austria. It was not marvellous, therefore, that intrigue after intrigue was concocted, to rivet her past concessions, so as to put it out of her power to neutralise her promises. An uneasy feeling was always rife at court; for Anne's gracious words and civilities were no index to her mind, and intentions. Condé continued to pay assiduous court to the Cardinal; but in the few days previous to the return of the Queen to Paris, he involved her in a serious dispute with Monsieur. The younger brother of Condé, the Prince de Conty,* was dwarfed in stature, and weak in intellect; he had, therefore, been long destined to hold

* Armand de Bourbon, 2ème Prince de Conty, born October 11th, 1629; died February 21st, 1666. He was the second son of Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, and of Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency.

certain royal sinecures of the Church. The late Prince de Condé, his father, however, had made testamentary bequests, which rendered it optional on the part of Conty, either to become a churchman, or to marry, and take his place in the councils of the realm. Persuaded by his mother, who was devoted to her eldest son, Condé, and who wished all the hereditary revenues of their house to be heaped upon his head, Conty at this period expressed great eagerness for the ecclesiastical profession. Condé, therefore, went to Mazarin and asked for the nomination of the crown at the approaching consistory, and declaration by the Pope of new cardinals. The Queen had promised this nomination to the Duc d'Orleans, for his friend the Abbé de la Rivière; nevertheless, the pretensions of La Rivière could not be suffered to compete with those of a prince of the blood, whom, for causes so important, it was politic to confirm in his present resolutions. She therefore sent Marshal d'Etrées and M. de Senneterre to La Rivière to announce "that as M. le Prince demanded the hat for Conty, his brother, it would be out of her Majesty's power to fulfil her promise to bestow it on La Rivière." As a compensation, the Queen offered the *coadjutoterie* to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, one of the finest pieces of patronage in the gift of the crown. With unparalleled insolence, La Rivière rejected the see; and insisted on the prior promise given him by the Queen, as a reward, he was not ashamed to proclaim, "for his services in keeping Monsieur loyal during the recent rebellion in the Parliament!" The Duc d'Orleans took up the quarrel

violently, incensed by the comments of Madame, who hated the Queen; and of Mademoiselle, who had not forgiven Anne the treatment she had experienced on the discovery of her intrigues with the Archduke. Monsieur, demanding private audience, reproached Anne for her ingratitude and fickleness, in preferring M. le Prince to himself, who had rendered such eminent services to the crown. "If you scorn and deride my friendship, Madame, you shall soon experience my hate. Not only did I cede the Regency to you, as you know, but latterly, as you also are well aware, I could have stripped you of this authority that you are now exercising against me!" Anne replied calmly, that she and M. le Cardinal had heard of the desire of M. le Prince only a few days previously—that she had tried to dissuade him therefrom, but had not been able, seeing the great pecuniary interest which he had in making his brother a cardinal. "I counsel you, Monseigneur, to be content: I have offered great dignities to M. de la Rivière out of regard for you. M. le Prince must be considered. I pray you, therefore, to reflect on the comparative dignity of the claimants, and not to quit my court as you threaten." "Madame," saucily retorted Monsieur, "as for leaving the court, why, where I am, seems to me to be, and is the court!" "I perceive, Monsieur, that you are resolved upon division and discord. Well, depart! I will try to console myself for your absence, and so to contrive that the King's court suffers no diminution by your ill-will. Adieu, Monsieur," added her Majesty, ironically.*

* Mém. de Motteville; de Montpensier; Vie de M. de Condé.

When Anne, on the following morning, went to the Château Neuf to take leave of Madame, who was recovering from child-birth, Monsieur, who was in the room, never once approached her; and, against all courtly etiquette, suffered her to depart unattended.

On the following day, October 31st, Anne quitted St. Germain, and returned with a heavy heart to the Palais Royal, according to her promise, accompanied by Condé; who, all joyous at the anger of Monsieur, became thereupon more assiduous in his *devoirs* to the Queen. Anne was received in Paris with respect; but the people were silent, and many of them earnestly peered into the face of the young King, who sat forward in the coach by the side of Mazarin. Nothing was to be read on the handsome pale features of the boy king, except, it was observed that at intervals, his dark eyebrows contracted; and his little lips tightened as he gazed on the crowd of "*canaille*," which was kept back from too near approach to the coach by his stalwart musketeers. Scarcely had the coach passed, when the people began to sing defiantly, in mockery of Anne's past threats—

"La Reine a dit, en sortant de la ville,
'Je m'en ressouviendrai;
Sachez Français que je suis de Castille,
Que je me vengerai.'
Ou bien que j'aurai la mémoire perdue.
Elle est revenue,
Dame Anne,
Elle est revenue!

La Reine a dit: 'J'ai souffert en Chrétienne
Un sensible affront,
Je gagerais qu'avant que je revienne
Ils s'en repenteront.'

Elle à, ma foi, la gageure perdue !
Elle est revenue,
Dame Anne,
Elle est revenue !"

Such was the pæan with which the Parisians saluted their Queen. The day afterwards Monsieur arrived, and was greeted with acclamations. His palace was crowded with members of the Chamber, and frequented by every person hostile to the Queen's authority. On the news of his quarrel with the court, the Ducs de Candale, de Brissac, de Beaufort, de Mercœur, and de Nemours, made him a formal offer of service. Monsieur's rage at the failure of the promise made to his favourite La Rivière, actually menaced the realm with civil war! He branded the Queen publicly as an ingrate, and called Mazarin a swindler, to the infinite delight and satisfaction of his assembled guests. In vain Anne sought to propitiate Monsieur, for whom she had sincere regard; nothing short of the purple for his favourite would satisfy him. La Rivière himself was in great consternation; he feared that, on the reconciliation of his master with the Regent, he would become the scapegoat of their wrath, and be turned adrift to perish in the far-off wilderness. Accordingly, he caused the Cardinal to be privately apprized that he withdrew his pretensions, and would do all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Queen, and Monsieur. The dissension continued to delight Condé; and he did all he could to incense the Queen, and urge her to hold firm against the threats of Monsieur. Under pretence that the

safety of the King was in danger, Condé caused the palace guards to be doubled; and spoke of Monsieur as a traitor, who intended to inflict outrage upon the person of his young sovereign. As for La Rivière, the Prince declared that his head ought to fall, for his presumption in claiming a dignity desired by a prince of the blood. This resolute demeanour made great impression on the weak mind of the duke, who began to fear arrest. Monsieur, therefore, prudently took to his bed, pretending a fit of gout, and gave courteous ear to the envoys sent by the Queen to offer condolence, and reparation. This Monsieur obtained at last, on most exaggerated terms. To show that she esteemed and trusted her brother-in-law, the Queen consented,—first, to receive at his intercession the Duc de Mercœur into her royal favour; to permit Monsieur to nominate the Duc d'Elbœuf as commandant at Montreuil; to indemnify La Rivière by declaring him a member of the privy council, and never to relax in her efforts until she had procured his nomination to the cardinalate! Condé also promised to abandon his pretension to the nomination held by the crown, provided that his Holiness, at the Queen's request, would bestow a hat *par grâce* on M. de Conty. Monsieur then suffered himself to be appeased, and visited the Queen, and all matters apparently resumed their usual routine.*

Under all, however, glowed fierce and sanguinary animosities. The armistice concluded at St. Germain-

* Mém. de Montglât; de Motteville; Tallemant des Réaux.

en-Laye was admitted to be hollow. The Queen breathed defiance and rage: the Parliament was ready to accept her challenge. Two great armies were in the field, well equipped: the one composed of the conquerors of Lens; the other of Turenne's valiant soldiers. Gondy fostered the irritation in Paris by insidious insinuations, and did all in his power to attract Condé on the side of the Parliament. As the capital could not contend alone against the sovereign, the Coadjutor began to look around for chieftains of renown, wealth, and merit. Gondy had not far to seek: there were the chiefs of Les Importants, driven from power by the Queen at the beginning of the Regency, still banded together, hating Mazarin with pertinacious hate; furious at the Queen for her perfidious desertion; rich, powerful, the *crême de la crême* of the French aristocracy; panting for revenge, and ready to imperil the throne to recover the privileges wrested from them by Richelieu! The cause of the Parliament, and the defence of the Articles of la Chambre St. Louis it was easy to espouse: the victory once their own, Mazarin driven into exile, and Anne of Austria deposed from the Regency—that question, with many others, would assume new aspects and proportions. Gondy schemed skilfully, and agitated with such subtilty, that his threats were never made in vain. Almost daily conferences, moreover, ensued between Condé and the Coadjutor, whose worldly wisdom and guile, were brought to bear on the loyalty of the Prince. The example of the Duc de Mayenne, Chief of the Holy League, was quoted to the Prince:

the glory of vindicating the principles contended for by the Parliament, of driving Mazarin from France, of deposing the Regent, and the magnitude of the authority, which must accrue to him personally, during the remainder of the minority, were also represented. "And after—when the King reigns—would his Majesty approve these innovations, and thank me for having established them?" asked Condé, pertinently. "Besides, I will never consent that a pack of citizens shall have the insolence to attempt to govern this realm. No man of sense would cast in his fortunes with such a crew; nor can I resolve to become the general of an army of madmen!" A few days elapsed, and the pride of Condé was again wounded by the arrogant deportment of Viole, Broussel, and others of the Parliament.

The Chamber, assembled after Martinmas, began again to harass the Queen with reproofs. Anne, anxious to bring matters to a crisis, sent down a bill as an essay of her power, authorising the crown to borrow certain necessary moneys at the rate of a ten per cent. interest. The edict was returned—negatived with obloquy: and a deputation went to the Palais Royal to inform her Majesty "that such enterprises were forbidden by her late Declaration of the 24th of October." M. de Novion, in the name of the Companies, then asked that Chavigny should be allowed to return to Paris. Anne, who thought that she had done dishonour to the crown, by consenting even to his release from custody, peremptorily refused, saying: "that M. de Chavigny having experienced the King's

clemency, was doing well and prudently, by living in retirement at his own mansion." A few days subsequently, the Queen sent to request M. le Prince, with the Duc d'Orleans, to repair to the Chamber, as she had been informed that MM. de la Cour were pre-preparing another "*embûche*" for royalty; and that matters personal to the King were about to fall under their rude speculation. Viole was speaking when the princes entered; he was indulging in his usual running fire on the iniquities of Mazarin, the faithlessness of the Queen, and the poverty of the King, "whose kitchen," he said, "was void of provisions during the greater part of the year." M. d'Orleans contradicting this assertion, Viole flew into a rage, saying, "that it was his right to speak and to make assertions in that place; and that he regretted that Monsieur, and M. le Prince were not inspired with the patriotic sentiments of the Companies." Condé, swift of speech, rose: "It is for all of you to listen respectfully to Monsieur. What right have you to meddle in affairs of state? Your charters permit you to judge only between man and man. How is it that you also presume to interfere with the personages of the King's household? Messieurs, you are usurping privileges which shall never be yours! I will not suffer it!"

The imperious language of the Prince provoked further retort; and one Coulon a counseller, rose, saying, "that while M. le Prince menaced, the Queen betrayed the Chamber; for that he knew for certain that troops were approaching the capital under one Colonel David." "And who may this Colonel David

be?" sneeringly asked Condé, with a laugh. "I have commanded the King's armies for some time, and I confess that I have never heard of this said David! Pray, Messieurs, who is he?" A young member of the Court of Requests, named Quatresous, boldly rose to reply. Condé, eyeing him with supreme disdain, made a gesture with his hand, and sat down. A commotion then rose in the Chamber, and Quatresous exclaimed, "that M. le Prince had menaced him, a member of the Companies, during the discharge of his functions!" In vain the Presidents rang their bells, while Molé declared that the gesture complained of was natural and common to M. le Prince when speaking. Quatresous replied, "that if the gesture was natural it was a very ugly one, of which the Prince should correct himself." During the turmoil, Condé stood erect, with flashing eyes; in that brief interval the cause of Mazarin gained a puissant ally. When silence was restored, Condé rose, and haughtily quitted the Chamber, followed by Monsieur, and by all the Princes present.

Nothing rejoiced Mazarin more than this growing enmity between Condé and the Parliament, which he sought on all occasions to foment, by skilful flattery and feigned submission to obloquy. While the Duc de Châtillon essayed to loosen the bonds which bound Condé to the court, M. de Grammont continually reminded him that, by accepting the office of General of the Parliament, he would for ever ruin his prospects, for that the Duc d'Orleans, remaining faithful to the Queen, would supplant him; that the royal cause must eventually prevail; that the members of the

Courts, mutinous and *inconséquents*, knew not what they clamoured for, nor valued the privileges they had wrung from the crown; that a siege of two months would suffice to subdue the rebellion; while Condé, master then of the fate of Mazarin, would become Dictator of the realm, earning meantime, the gratitude of the King, and the confidence of Anne of Austria.* These observations tickled the ear of the Prince: angry at the popularity of Monsieur with the *bourgeois* class, and shrinking from the rude fellowship of *ces gens de robe*, Condé at length determined, as the conflict could no longer be delayed, to draw his sword for the King. Anne was now almost a prisoner in her palace; when she appeared in public, a hooting rabble followed her coach, watching, as they loudly proclaimed, that the King was not taken from Paris. When she heard mass in any of the churches of the capital the doors were closed, and guarded during her stay therein.† So great was the distrust and dislike then exhibited towards the Queen, that her deposition from her dignity as Regent seemed imminent. During the quarrel concerning La Rivière, the people on several occasions had trooped round the coach of Monsieur, and exhorted him to seize the person of the

* Mém. de la Duchesse de Nemours, Marie d'Orleans; Mém. de Guy Joly; Mém. de Retz, t. i.

* "La Reine etant aller faire ses devotions à St. Eustache Jour de Noel et le roi l'y ayant accompagné les gardes se posterent à toütes les portes. M. le Cardinal s'y rendit après, accompagné de 24 gardes, et de plus de 50 autres personnes. Aussitôt, qu'il fut dans l'eglise, ses gardes fermerent toutes les portes, et l'on ne laissà plus entrer personne dans l'enceinte, qu'il ne fut sorti."—MSS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. 1206, quoted by Capefigue.

King boldly, and leave it to the High Court to pronounce the act legitimate. Mazarin's power seemed even more tolerable to the hot spirit of Condé than the elevation of Monsieur. In addition to these politic considerations, Anne of Austria was fair and fascinating; and her tears, and soft caressing flattery, bewitched the soul of Condé, and fired him to avenge her wrongs.

Greatly as the odds seemed against the success of a rebellion, which Condé declared that he would repress at the head of victorious legions triumphant in many a hotly contested battle field, still the Coadjutor had the courage and the skill to persist in his seditious designs, aided by the malcontent lords, who had promised their co-operation. As Condé had resisted all his blandishments, the Coadjutor, resolved to give the Parliament a general of the blood royal, turned his attention upon M. de Conty. The Prince idolised his sister, the Duchesse de Longueville—the poor deformed boy gazed, with something approaching to adoration and envy on her beauteous grace, and happy readiness of speech. Gondy, therefore, who wanted only the name of Conty, and cared nothing for the achievements of his puppet-general, saw a way to his designs through his influence with the duchess. The Duchesses de Longueville and de Bouillon* were the heroines of La Fronde, as the insurrection against Mazarin, and the Queen was subsequently

* Léonore Catharine Fabronie de Bergh, daughter of Frederic Count de Bergh, governor of Friesland in 1657.

nicknamed. Madame de Longueville had never been a popular personage at the court of Anne of Austria. The Queen thought her manner drawling and conceited; and her pretensions, as a beautiful woman, a *bel esprit*, and as a politician, exaggerated. Wherever Madame de Longueville found herself, even in the presence of the Queen, she expected to absorb attention. She loved to be surrounded by a train of adorers; and she surrendered her opinions, her influence, and her interests, to the guidance of the more dominant spirit of her circle. The duchess was devoured by the desire to shine, and to command as a political personage; an aim, however, for which her capacity was totally unfit. She therefore espoused vehemently the politics and sentiments of the personage with whom, at the time, she had the tenderest *liaison*. As the young Duc de la Rochefoucauld, at this period, monopolised the heart of Madame de Longueville, he had advised her to aspire to govern her brothers, Condé and Conty; when she might, he said, with a little manœuvring, become the arbitress of the Queen's destiny. While flattering the duchess to serve his own ends, La Rochefoucauld ungratefully observes in his Memoirs how immense was her self-esteem, and gullibility. "This princess," says he, "had great gifts of wit and beauty, but all her fine qualities were marred by one defect—to wit, that instead of giving law to all persons who professed to adore her, she so transformed herself to become the exponent of their sentiments, that she actually forget her own. The Prince de Marsillac* having

* Rochefoucauld means himself: the first 150 pages of his Memoirs are

at this time empire over her mind, he united his interest to his love, and inspired her with ambition to take part in the political questions of the day, and to forward his designs, through the extreme eagerness which then devoured her to be avenged on M. le Prince." Madame de Nemours, the strong-minded step-daughter of the duchess, declares, "that Madame de Longueville had little merit beyond beauty, and the kind of learning prized at the Hôtel Rambouillet; that her vanity was egregious; and to establish a reputation for crafty subtilty, and to be thought the leader in a political intrigue, prevailed over every other consideration." With her brother Condé, the duchess was estranged at this period: he had declined to compel Mazarin to confer the government of Havre de Grâce upon the Duc de Longueville, and had bitterly angered her by reporting to her husband, certain acts of flighty levity on her part, with La Rochefoucauld and others, which Condé declared disgraced his house. Animated by ambition, and by pique against M. le Prince, who laughed derisively when his sister began to launch out on politics, the Duchesse de Longueville was well prepared for the assault of the wily Coadjutor. Madame de Longueville was at Noisy, the mansion of de Retz, Archbishop of Paris, waiting her *accouchement* at the period when the Queen returned from St. Germain. One day, therefore, during the month of November, Gondy paid a furtive visit to the duchess. "I went to see

written as an autobiography; after his disgrace at court, he continued them anonymously.

Madame de Longueville because she was at my uncle's house; at this time I saw little of her, being an intimate ally of her husband, who was not the man who had most influence with her. I found her alone, and began to talk on public matters, and I perceived that she was greatly enraged at the court, and more than furious at M. de Condé, her brother.* This disposition enabled me, as I thought, to make ample defence for Paris, and in a way less odious than by calling in the aid of Spanish troops. I was well aware of the weakness of M. de Conty; but I also knew that this youth, over whom Madame de Longueville reigned paramount, was a prince of the blood, and would therefore, by his rank, smooth all jealousies relative to precedence. As soon as I opened my mind to Madame de Longueville, and had shown her how great was even the least rank which she would hold, when affairs resolved themselves in Paris, she went off into such transports of joy as cannot be expressed." Madame de Longueville therefore agreed, that should the Queen, as was generally expected, leave Paris suddenly, she would remain behind, under pretext that her condition prevented her from attending the court. The Duchess, moreover, promised to be responsible for the adhesion to the Coadjutor's league of Conty, of her husband the Duc de Longueville, and of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who smiled his bitter smile when he

* The Duchess had betrayed to her father, the Prince de Condé, the mad passion of her brother for Mademoiselle de Vigean, and the design he entertained of divorcing his wife Clemence, niece of Richelieu, to espouse that lady. Condé, then M. d'Enghien, is said never to have forgiven his sister for this betrayal of his confidence.

heard the Duchess promise in his name, that which he himself had designed so cleverly. La Rochefoucauld, the cynic, was at this time composing his celebrated Maxims; and many a bitter line was doubtless added, when he saw a woman like Madame de Longueville ensnared by her beauty, and so egregiously duped.

"The coolness between Madame de Longueville and M. de Condé had induced her to concentrate all her favour upon M. de Conty, whom she wished to bend to her designs. She was more beloved by M. de Conty than loving; for her inclination being riveted upon another person, he became her centre of attraction. Nevertheless, Madame de Longueville cleverly availed herself of the extreme tenderness of the young prince her brother. He abandoned himself so entirely to this sentiment, that it was said, he lived more for her sake than for his own.* The Duc de Longueville, meantime, irritated and aggrieved by the court, fell into the snare laid for him by the subtle Gondy, and reluctantly promised to support the cause, out of pique, that the Queen persisted in her refusal to bestow upon him the government of Hâvre, and to dispossess the young Duc de Richelieu. The Duc de Bouillon entered into relations with the Coadjutor, because the Queen refused to restore Sédan, or to make what the Duke considered a satisfactory compensation.† Bouillon, as well as the Duc de Longueville, banded themselves against the court with many a

* Motteville, ann. 1649.

† The Duke de Bouillon asked the round sum of half a million sterling as compensation. By-and-by he increased his demands.

secret pang, and silent protest. Hence, they never became shining lights in the confederacy. Madame de Bouillon, however, made up in energy, and hate for the Queen, what her husband wanted in enthusiasm. The Duchess was highly born, being the daughter of the Count de Berghes, Governor of Friesland. She was pretty, vivacious, full of resource, a faithful wife,* and an ardent friend. Devoted to Spanish interests, she had never forgiven Anne of Austria for having, as it was supposed, revealed to Richelieu the secret of the conspiracy for which Cinq Mars died; and which would also have proved fatal to the Duc de Bouillon, but for his precious possession of Sédan, a jewel which he bartered to Richelieu in exchange for his life. She entered with ardour into Gondy's plans; she suggested and schemed with capacity; she feared not to contradict, and bring Gondy down again to the level of reality, when he indulged in grand flights of fancy, and pictured a political Utopia; and she was joyful to make real sacrifices for the cause, whilst Madame de Longueville languished, and uttered pretty pedantry. The Duc de Vendôme and his son de Beaufort, eagerly promised support to the Parliament. M. de Beaufort was the *enfant chéri* of the populace, and was likely to be of infinite service to his wily prompter. M. de Mercœur, his elder brother, reserved, melancholy, and fastidious to a degree which totally unfitted him for

* Madame de Bouillon, qui ne faisait, et ne disait jamais de galanteries que de concert avec son mari, était une des plus amiables personnes du monde, quand même elle eut été aussi laide qu'elle était belle."—Mém. du Cardinal Gondy de Retz, t. i. p. 332.

a popular hero, retired from the contest; and while refusing to join in the seditious enterprises of his family, declined to take arms in the Queen's service. Amongst the middle classes of the capital the exasperation was intense. Numerous families were impoverished by the dishonest act of the government in confiscating the loans advanced to the crown; while others were reduced to comparative distress by the confiscation of their annuities, paid on sums invested in government securities in *la gabelle*, and *les tailles*. It was no amelioration to the sufferers, that the Chamber had sanctioned the appropriation; they looked further back, and execrated the minister whose alleged profusions had driven their honoured Parliament to decree such hardships.*

Condé, the Queen, and Mazarin, meantime, took their measures, and held daily council. In the Queen, the Prince found an ally of congenial boldness; Mazarin was still in favour of moderate measures, and talked of compromise. It was necessary, however, to gain over Monsieur to their projects, without whose sanction, as Lieutenant-Governor of the realm, the siege of Paris could not legally be resolved. Anne undertook this mission. The Duke was still sulky and distant, and seldom visited the Palais Royal. Anne's winning overtures, however, soon began to thaw the rigour of his displeasure; she visited him

* "Le roi n'avait pas d'argent, et avait fait banqueroute à tous ceux qui lui en avait prêté avant le disgrace d'Eméry; ce qui ruinoit quantité de familles des plus grandes de la cour, qui avaient mis leur argent dans les prêts, à cause du grand profit qu' on en retirait."—Montglat, ann. 1648, p. 137.

assiduously at the Luxembourg, sat by him during several paroxysms of gout, and promised him, as the price of his reconciliation, unlimited power over the patronage of the crown. At length the Queen developed her designs, and entreated his co-operation. Monsieur, struck with dismay, replied, that he could not sanction such a project as that to starve Paris; that some hot-headed partizans had indeed hinted to him that such a plan was contemplated, but he had treated the story as chimerical. Anne, nothing daunted, expressed a fervent desire not to be abandoned by Monsieur; she besought him, she entreated, she conjured him, to save the King, and not to quench for ever the regard which had once been so ardent between them. Then, taking a sterner tone, she told Monsieur, "that she had resolved to confide herself to M. le Prince, and not to remain longer in a city where her authority was despised, and her minister threatened with scandalous outrage; and that whether Monsieur would depart with her or not, she intended still to achieve her designs." "If you desire, I will retire to the chief town of your appanage, Orleans, and there raise the royal standard on its castle; but stay I will not in this city! M. le Prince undertakes to reduce these rebels in fourteen days." Monsieur, driven into a corner, knew not what to reply; but taking the fair hand resting on his pillow, he kissed it passionately, and vowed fidelity to the King. Still the Duke deprecated the extreme course on which the Queen seemed bent. With the persuasive pertinacity of a beautiful woman who knew her power, Anne continued to assail

Monsieur, in which she was skilfully aided by La Rivière. The Duke's feeble will therefore soon succumbed, and he forgot "his good burgesses, whom he had promised to protect, and to console by his presence, should Dame Anne have the audacity to steal the King from his loving subjects of Paris."

The next day found Monsieur in secret conclave, *tête-à-tête* with the Queen, Condé, and Mazarin, eager to be initiated in the pending *coup d'état*; and applauding the resolve to put an end to a state of affairs degrading to the crown. Condé then declared his plan for the speedy reduction of the capital. He proposed that the King, the Queen, and the royal family should remove suddenly to the arsenal, from the Palais Royal; that the Flemish army, which had been gradually advancing from the frontier, should on the same day encamp in the Faubourg St. Antoine, along the Seine. This accomplished, that a mandate should be issued, commanding the Parliament to march on the moment from the capital, to Montargis. "If they obey you not, Madame, and assemble, debate, or barricade the streets, my army shall enter through the Arsenal—through its walls, if requisite. Twenty pieces of cannon in the Rue St. Antoine, and a second battery on the Quai de l'Arsenal, will clear away their barricades. I will then advance at the head of my trusty regiments, clear the streets of Paris, and chase the Parliament at the point of the bayonet from the Palais. Madame, the King will then be master of his good city: the rebellion will be quelled!" The approval of Anne of Austria was unreservedly ex-

pressed—prompt action, dazzling, efficacious, was her delight. Monsieur and the Cardinal, however, heard the proposal in blank surprise, with murmurs, and disapproval. If Condé failed, they said, to sweep the streets by his cannon, the government was lost. Monsieur also pictured a fierce rebellion, fire, carnage, the burning of the palaces, and the compulsory flight of the King from his capital.* The bold and really politic counsel of Condé was therefore negatived; and the Queen, with a sigh of regret, again deferring to the supposed sagacity of Mazarin, decided upon the safer project of quitting Paris for St. Germain, afterwards to blockade the avenues of the vast city, and starve it into submission. Condé promised the Queen the support of his family: Madame la Princesse, Anne trusted at this period as herself; but she by no means felt so secure of the loyalty of M. and Madame de Longueville. The Prince, nevertheless, positively pledged his word, that not a single personage who had the honour to claim the patronymic of Bourbon, would desert its chief. "The Prince," says Madame de Motteville, "wished to acquire over the Queen's mind a supreme influence by aiding her to avenge the insults daily perpetrated on the King's authority. He assured her that the means were easy; and that she would soon behold the people, and Parliament of Paris at her feet. The Queen therefore, experienced sweet contentment, and was ready to

* Montglat. The Marshal de la Meilleraye proposed to bombard the Palais; the Duke of Orleans descanted on the natural fortifications of St. Germain, and on the advantages to be derived from the vast forest in its rear, in those days boasting a circumference of more than thirty miles.

hazard all to re-establish the royal power, such as she had received it."

The day fixed for the departure of the royal family from Paris was the night of January 5th. The secret was rigorously kept: the Queen brought all her dissimulation into play to impress the public with an idea, that her apprehended *coup d'état* was not to be preceded by flight. Monsieur, now daily primed and warned by La Rivière, held his tongue, and avoided as he could the sharp queries of Madame. Condé uttered not a word of the project even to his devoted mother. The persons, therefore, intrusted with the secret, were only Condé, Mazarin, M. le Tellier, and the Marshal de Grammont. On New Year's Day, 1649, Anne was more than usually gracious to the deputation from the Chamber, which arrived to compliment the King. She spoke to Molé, recommending moderation to the Parliament, and that, content with its victories, it should refrain from further interference in military affairs. She also alluded, with regret, to the fanatical harangues, pronounced by the *curés* of the capital from their pulpits on Christmas Day. To her faithful De Feron, Prevôt des Marchands, Anne gave warm greeting. To M. Viole, the most democratic of all the members of Parliament, Anne slyly alluded to his well-known desire to become the keeper of her privy seal, expressing a *naïve* astonishment that his code permitted him to seek service in the royal household. Her manner was so gracious, and engaging, that the deputation of members quitted the palace charmed

with their reception; and regretting that any question should embroil them with a princess so comely, "and endowed with such inexpressible majesty of deportment."

On the evening before the court quitted Paris, M. de Grammont gave a grand supper to Mazarin, to Condé, and to the Duc d' Orléans. The doors of the Hôtel de Grammont were closed when the guests had assembled, and no persons were afterwards permitted to enter, or to leave the mansion. Anne, meantime, held her usual evening reception in her small saloon, where Madame de Motteville found her quietly seated by a table, on which her arm rested, looking at the gambols of the young King, who was playing about the apartment. Certain rumours of the intended *coup d'état* had escaped; but the easy indifference of the Queen, and the total absence of all preparations, had prevented much importance from being attached to the report. The royal palaces in those days were not completely furnished; and the hangings, beds, and furniture, devoted to the personal use of the sovereign, were removed as the court passed from one abode to the other. The Duchess de la Trimouille* entered the Queen's closet, and sat down behind her Majesty. When Anne's attention was given to a question asked by the King, she beckoned to Madame de Motteville, and whispered—"There is a rumour *en ville* that the Queen leaves Paris to-night." "I was too surprised to reply," relates de Motteville. "I

* Marie de la Tour d'Auvergne, sister of the Duke de Bouillon, and of Marshal Turenne. The Duchess died in 1665.

looked at the Queen, and remarking her perfect calmness, I shrugged my shoulders, and expressed by signs my astonishment, and disbelief." The Duchess was a sister of M. de Bouillon, and one of the ladies most hostile to Mazarin. At seven, the Cardinal, and the princes presented themselves, prior to leaving for the Hôtel Grammont. By nine o'clock everybody had taken leave of the Queen, who was left alone with her ladies and intimates, Madame de Motteville and her sister, and Mesdames de Brégey and de Beauvais. Still Anne kept up her dissimulation, and conversed about the devotions of the morrow, announcing that she should visit Val de Grâce. Thereupon, the little Duc d'Anjou exclaimed, "Oh, mamma, may I go with you?" which the Queen promised, as the time had come for the prince to retire to bed, which generally cost him grief. The ladies then produced a small twelfth cake, and divided it with the King; and, with much laughter, declared their royal mistress, Reine de la Fêve. Anne entered into the merriment, and sent for some hypocras. Her health was then drunk with cheers. M. de Villeroy, the King's governor, next entered, with gentlemen, to escort King Louis to bed. The ladies then settled round the Queen, for one of those pleasant confabulations, with which Anne often indulged them. The talk turned first on a ball about to be given by the Marquis de Villequier to the court. Anne discussed the coming fête; named which ladies of her household she intended to spare on that evening, and even fixed the costume to be worn by several of

her favourites. Madame de Motteville then alluded to the report, exclaiming laughingly, "That it was reported her Majesty was actually to leave Paris on that very night! We laughed, and mocked, with her Majesty at the rumour: never had she appeared to be more cordial, and good-humoured. The Queen, nevertheless, afterwards acknowledged to me, that she could scarcely restrain her laughter; but felt much compassion at the thought of leaving us alone in a town she was going to besiege."* Anne then ordered herself to be disrobed; but just as she was rising to leave the saloon, Beringhen, whom she had sent for, entered. M. Beringhen was the Queen's faithful servant, and chief equerry. For the first time, he then heard of the intentions of his royal mistress with extreme surprise, and sorrow. Anne taking him apart, but not out of sight of her ladies, commanded that two coaches should be ready at three o'clock a.m. at the garden entrance of the Palais Royal. A look from the eyes of the Queen, sufficed to stay any officious remonstrance on the part of Beringhen; and he departed to obey. Anne then went back to the ladies, saying, "that she had sent for M. Beringhen to speak about a charitable errand." "If we had not all been quite blind," relates Madame de Motteville, "these words ought to have opened our eyes, because it was never her habit to give us reasons

* "Mais nous lui avons toujours maintenu qu'elle ne fut point alors susceptible d'aucun sentiment de pitié; et que la vengeance, et la joie, occupèrent entièrement son cœur," writes Madame de Motteville, who, notwithstanding her partiality, had some insight into the character of Anne of Austria.

for the commands she issued." Anne's *toilette de nuit* then commenced; while Madame de Beauvais was brushing the Queen's hair, Mademoiselle de Beaumont, another favourite lady of the private clique, entered, having dined on that day with Madame de Beringhen. Mademoiselle de Beaumont kissed the Queen's hand, and then whispered to her comrades, "that there was something in the wind: that Madame de Beringhen was suspicious, as her friend Madame de Grammont had asked her to leave Paris at dawn. So extraordinary a request must therefore have some motive." The ladies thereupon got into great commotion, whispering, and gazing uneasily on their royal mistress, who sat complacently before her large mirror, watching the operations of Madame de Beauvais. She, however, suddenly rose, and bidding farewell to her ladies, entered the bedchamber, the doors of which were instantly closed. Madame de Motteville and her companions remained for a few minutes conversing in the guard chamber with M. de Comminges, who laughed at their consternation, and credulity.

At half-past one the Queen rose, and softly called Madame de Beauvais, who slept in the same apartment. Anne then dressed hurriedly, confiding meantime her project in whispers to her faithful Beauvais, who was to accompany her to St. Germain. The Queen, when attired, sent for MM. de Comminges and de Guitaut, and gave them all necessary instructions. Afterwards she sent Guitaut to rouse the Marshal de Villeroy, who slept in the King's chamber, which was

close at hand. Anne then directed Villeroy to wake the King, to dress him, and to bring him to her saloon. Moreover, the Marshal was ordered to arouse the gentlemen in attendance; and to advertise M. de Villequier, chief captain of the guard, that his services were required. These instructions, given with the greatest composure, and with a manner which repressed the slightest reply or remark on the part of those addressed, Anne went to the chamber of the little Monsieur, and raised him sound asleep, from his cot, with her own arms. Ordering the child to be dressed, and brought to her, Anne returned to her saloon, where the King soon joined her, and afterwards M. d'Anjou. With her two sons, she then entered her oratory, and, kneeling, uttered fervent prayers.

Meantime, the Marshal de Villeroy, M. de Villequier, Comminges, Guitaut, and Madame de Beauvais, met in the guard chamber, all scarcely able to express to each other their astonishment, and even alarm, as the city gates now afforded perilous passage for royal equipages. The appearance of the Queen, however, put a stop to conjecture; and, followed by the above-named persons, and leading her two sons, Anne descended a back staircase, and traversing the palace garden, entered the coach at the gate, which drove swiftly to the public promenade of the capital, Cours de la Reine, in the vicinity of the Luxembourg. Passing through the Porte de la Conference into the open country, by a few hundred yards, the coach stopped.

The festivities at the Hôtel Grammont, meantime,

were prolonged till long past midnight. All was quiet in the city, and not a rumour of the event about to happen, disturbed public tranquillity. Mazarin, Condé, and Monsieur, attended by La Rivière, then quitted the hôtel on foot, the gates of which were locked behind them. Monsieur returned to the Luxembourg, and roused Madame, who rose in grumbling consternation, and dressing quickly, was escorted in her coach to join the Queen, who waited still on the Cours. Mazarin had already kept rendezvous, and was snugly ensconced on the back seat in her Majesty's coach. Condé returned to his hôtel, and awoke Madame la Princesse, presenting her with a letter from the Queen. Madame de Condé being accustomed to such surprises, dressed herself quickly, and then went to the chamber of the Duchess de Longueville, who had returned from Noisy. Madame de Longueville, now suddenly called upon to act the heroine, declined to accompany her mother, excusing herself from obeying the Queen's order notified in a letter, by alleging her condition. The Princess de Condé was therefore compelled to leave her daughter behind, and hasten to the rendezvous with her daughter-in-law, and grandson. Condé, meantime, went to the bedside of the generalissimo elect of the Fronde, M. de Conty, and despite his piteous entreaties, he dragged him from his bed, and compelled him to follow. Comminges went to the Tuileries to awake Mademoiselle. This keen witted young lady had picked up something of the Queen's intentions, having *entrée* at all hours at the Palais Royal, and the Luxembourg. When she was roused by

Comminges, she anticipated his message by asking—"Am I not required to leave Paris?" Comminges replying in the affirmative, and presenting her with a letter from her father, Mademoiselle rose, and in one short half hour found herself rolling along in the coach of M. de Comminges towards the Cours. The night was dark, and the weather bitterly cold and frosty. On reaching the rendezvous, Mademoiselle got into the Queen's coach in very bad humour, egotistically saying—"'I wish, Madame, to sit on the back seat. I do not like the cold.' I said this, intending to dislodge Madame la Princesse. The Queen sharply replied—'You cannot; my sons and I, and Madame la Princesse, occupy those seats.' 'Oh!' retorted Mademoiselle, insolently, 'if Madame la Princesse is there, leave her; young people must give precedence to old people!'" All the persons being now assembled in Anne's capacious coach, consisting of Mazarin, Condé, the Queen and her sons, Madame la Princesse, the young Princess of Condé, and Madame de Sénecé, whom Anne had sent for, a signal was given, and the *cortége* set off for St. Germain. Anne arrived there at day-break, and alighted at the chapel to hear mass, before entering the château.

The wildest confusion ensued in the palace—the court found neither beds, hangings, food, nor attendants. The vast apartments were damp, and freezingly cold. No fuel was to be obtained; and bands of peasants were hastily gathered together, and sent into the forest to fell wood! During the day, troops of affrighted fugitives came flocking in from Paris. The

equipages of Monsieur, and his baggage-waggons were permitted to pass the barriers, so that before night, his apartments in the Château Neuf* assumed a more habitable appearance. During the first night of the sojourn of the court at St. Germain, everybody went to bed supperless except the royal family, and slept on straw, for which, such was the demand, that in a few hours its price doubled. "The first night," relates Mademoiselle, "I slept in a superb room, vast, and gilded, but I had little fire; and my windows were boarded, as there were no sashes in them. My mattress was on the ground; and my sister, who had no bed, slept with me. I was obliged to sing, to lull her to sleep; but she disturbed my rest, and frequently terrified me by screaming out that she saw a bogie, so that I had to sing again to quiet her—and thus passed my night. Happily for me, the beds of Monsieur and Madame had arrived; and Monsieur had had the goodness to lend me his bed. While I thus occupied Monsieur's room, I was awoke early by a great noise. I threw back my curtain, and found that the room was full of men attired in buff-skin, who were as astonished to see me, as I to behold them. I had no change of linen, and no women to dress, and attire me." In this plight Mademoiselle remained for two days, at the expiration of which her own women, furniture, and household arrived; when she quitted the Château Neuf, to stay with the Queen in the old castle.

* The Château Neuf was built by Henri Quatre. This palace was pulled down in 1778, the tower, called Le Pavillon de Henri IV., being alone suffered to stand. The pavilion is now occupied by a famous *restaurant* of Paris, who furnishes refreshments to the numerous visitors, who flock on to the unrivalled terraces and walks, which surrounded this château.

At the Château-Vieux, meanwhile, the Queen was more commodiously lodged, but there, also, two formidable foes—cold and hunger—made themselves felt. It was *jour maigre* at court; but Anne was too much in earnest to heed temporary privation. In a few days matters improved—the Duchesse d'Aiguillon flew to the Queen's succour, and sent vans from Ruel laden with furniture, the plate of the late Cardinal de Richelieu her uncle, and a present of fine wines and meats. From Chantilly, also, succours poured in. Condé placed everything he possessed at the service of the King. Anne's wardrobe, also, was smuggled through the gates of Paris, in vehicles bearing the arms of Mademoiselle, and driven by people wearing her liveries. Anne had never relinquished the hope and intent of returning to St. Germain, while she coerced the rebel city, since, under the escort of Condé, she had reluctantly left in November of the preceding year. Many, therefore, of her most precious effects for her toilette, and her oratory, had purposely been left behind.

At daybreak the departure of the royal family was discovered by the citizens of Paris. The gates of the Palais Royal were closed, no sentinel was on guard, and the royal banner no longer floated over its chief pavilion. A wail of fear and of fury, convulsed the city: in a few hours the streets swarmed with people, committing outrages on the persons, and property of all persons known to belong to the court, or suspected of favouring le Mazarin. Letters from the Queen

notified her departure to all the great lords in the capital. Anne stated her reasons for withdrawing, and commanded their presence at St. Germain. Some few great personages, active and enthusiastic, and clever with their tongues, managed to escape from Paris while the first consternation lasted. Five baggage-waggons belonging to the King also sought passage: a mob of vagabonds, however, seized the waggons, crying "Pille! Pille!" and but for the prompt intervention of a company of *la garde bourgeoise*, all the valuable contents of the coffers would have been strewn over the streets. The vans were with difficulty escorted back to the Palais Royal; and soon after, an order appeared, forbidding any furniture, or valuables, to be conveyed from the royal palaces, or the Hôtel Mazarin, without an order from the Parliament.

The Coadjutor de Gondy, during these transactions had been roused at five o'clock by a messenger from the Queen, informing him of her movements, and desiring him to appear during the day at St. Germain. The letter also contained information, that her Majesty had ordered the immediate advance of 12,000 men to the vicinity of the capital. Whilst Gondy was revolving this unexpected intelligence—as Anne's measures had been more prompt than he anticipated—M. de Blancménil entered, pale and agitated, exclaiming, "We are lost: the King is marching on the Palais with 8000 troops!" "The King is gone from Paris, followed by 2000 men only!" promptly replied the Coadjutor. The two men sallied forth. The cold

winterly morning had just dawned, and the markets were filling. A cry suddenly arose, "*Le Roi est parti! le Roi est parti!*" and the people, leaving their wares, trooped in masses in the vicinity of the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Palais de Justice. Guénégaud, before following the court, had dispatched a letter from the King to Féron, Prevôt des Marchands, to the Hôtel de Ville; and had sent a notification to that purport to the Prevôt, whom the messenger found in bed. Féron rose, and went in consternation to the Hôtel de Ville, about seven o'clock, where his colleagues of the city council, and the sheriffs of Paris met him. The warlike burghers of Paris meantime, without waiting for commands from the city authorities, seized the gates of the town, and beat up to arms. Meanwhile the Provost and his officers applied themselves to the perusal of the King's letter: while so engaged, the Duc de Montbazon, governor of the city of Paris, entered the Hôtel de Ville, and laid a communication from the Queen Regent on the table. The duke was followed by an officer sent by the Parliament of Paris, requesting that the King's letter, and those of the princes of the blood, might be instantly carried to the Chamber by the senior sheriff of the city. This being accordingly done, the Queen's letter was then read aloud; it began by commanding the Provost and Sheriffs of the capital to maintain order, and tranquillity. "The King has resolved, with very heartfelt regret, to leave his good city of Paris, in order no longer to be exposed to the pernicious designs of certain officers of his Parliament

—men, who hold intelligences, and traitorous relations with the foes of this realm. These said personages have been guilty of traitorous enterprises against the authority of the King; and have even gone to the shameful lengths of conspiring to seize his person. The King, therefore, by the advice of the Queen Regent, his mother, has thus been pleased to make known his departure and intentions, to his faithful Provost and Sheriffs, of his city of Paris."* The accusation contained in this missive redoubled the general consternation: but it also had the effect of arousing each member of the Parliament of Paris from the contemplation of his own individual fears, to decree measures for the general preservation; as no one knew to whom allusion was made in the King's letter. "I have always observed," writes Gondy, shrewdly, "that it requires a greater fear to arouse men's intellects thoroughly, and instantaneously, from fear." The Provost Féron, being an object of suspicion to the members, the house decreed as preliminary ordinances: "That all the citizens should take up arms; that the gates of the town be rigorously guarded; that the Provost of Paris, and the chief agent of police should insure the passage of provisions to the town; and that on the morrow, *toutes chambres assemblées*, the King's letter should be again read, and discussed."† The terror and consternation were great: the departure of

* Registres de l'Hotel de Ville, ann. 1648; Archives du Royaume de France; Journal du Parlement.

† Journal du Parlement; Mém. de Omer Talon, Avocat-General, ann. 1648, t. ii.

Monsieur transported the seditious Parliament with despair. The duke, in his letter to the municipal authorities, had, moreover, declared that "he had counselled the King to leave the capital." Condé wrote, "that he had given the King advice to depart, assured that a longer residence in his capital would be prejudicial to his authority, and personal safety!" "Messieurs felt very grieved and downcast to read such language; feeling convinced that unless the hand of God intervened, worse would come of it!" adds a chronicler of the Hôtel de Ville, himself a member of one of the city wards.

The Coadjutor, meanwhile, was provoked and angered at the dismay which seemed to paralyse the city. Deeming it politic to pretend obedience to Anne's commands, in case matters turned out badly, Gondy, towards the evening of the 6th of January, ordered his coach, and, with a great parade of retainers in livery, announced that he was going to St. Germain. His face was, or seemed to be, pale, as with tears in his eyes he bestowed his benediction from the coach windows on the crowds, as he passed through the streets. The people clamoured, and declared that he should not leave the city. Gondy shook his head sorrowfully, and besought his friends not to increase her Majesty's displeasure by his detention. These acts inflamed the populace. In the Rue Nôtre Dame, a stalwart dealer in fire-wood, seized the horses of the Coadjutor's coach, —others dragged the postillions from the horses. A crowd of viragoes forced open the doors of the coach,

seized the Coadjutor, and, placing him on a dray, carried him back in triumph to the episcopal palace, while their allies of the Rue Nôtre Dame made a bonfire of his coach. Having achieved his purpose, Gondy sent a messenger, and an obsequious letter to the Queen, stating that he had tried, but found it impossible to obey her commands! Anne made a gesture of indignation, and dismissed M. de Louvigné, Gondy's envoy;* while Condé laughed ironically. Affairs, however, were not so favourable, as the Coadjutor desired; and he passed the night of the 6th of January, and the following night, in agonies of suspense. On the night of the 6th, he paid a furtive visit to Madame de Longueville,† to confer on the unpropitious condition of affairs; and to impart his fears. The Queen's departure had been so sudden and unexpected, that not one of Gondy's "generals," with the exception of the Duc de Bouillon, was in Paris. The Duc de Longueville was absent on a tour in his government of Normandy, to ascertain the strength, and fitness of its garrisons; M. de Conty had been carried off by his brother Condé, and was then doubtless under *surveillance* at St. Germain; M. de Beaufort had not arrived; the Duc de la Rochefoucauld had gone to Verteuil to make, as he asserted certain domestic arrangements, previous to the coming struggle. Not a single prineess was in Paris, except

* "La Reine repondit au Chevalier de Louvigné avec hauteur et surprise.—Mém. de Retz, t. ii.

† "Madame de Longueville était la seule princesse en la ville—elle était toute éplorée, mais ferme, et courageuse."

Madame de Longueville herself. The Duc de Bouillon was furious and resentful; and had told the Coadjutor that, as no person was in Paris, whom, on his word, he had expected to meet, he should depart for St. Germain, and offer his services to the Queen. Moreover, the Parliament, daunted, and apparently subdued by the resolution displayed by the court, was ready to make submission. Madame de Longueville wrung her hands, and declared that she had still more distressing news to impart—that the Duc de Longueville that very day on his return to Paris, hearing by the way, of the departure of the King from Paris, had gone straight to St. Germain! M. de la Mothe d'Houdancourt, military governor of Paris, had brought this evil intelligence, stating, at the same time, that his policy during the pending troubles would be that of the Duc de Longueville. The duchess, therefore, proposed that the Marquis de Noirmoutier should proceed to St. Germain under pretext of conveying letters to the duke her husband; but in reality, to spy into the condition of the court, and to bring back positive intelligence from him, and from the young prince de Conty. In these letters, Madame de Longueville adjured her husband to remember Hâvre and Pont de l'Arche, and to follow in the path indicated by honour, and ambition; while to M. de Conty, she wrote all that the most subtle ingenuity could concoct to recall to his allegiance that young, and volatile prince.

Madame de Motteville, meantime, made an effort to quit Paris, to rejoin her beloved royal mistress. She and

her sister, and a female friend, tried to escape by the Porte St. Honoré, at dusk hour. Their perils, and adventures were numerous; the mob insulted, and so terrified them, that they were obliged to take refuge at the Hôtel Vendôme. The porter there repulsed them, and closed the outer gates of the hôtel, saying, that his master gave no shelter to "Mazarins." Pursued by a crew of ruffians, Madame de Motteville and her sister then fled, half dead with terror, to the church of St. Roch, "for the people were about to make us martyrs in the fashion of St. Stephen." Mass was being celebrated; and Madame de Motteville rushed to the altar and threw herself upon her knees, "when a woman, who in my eyes was more fearful than a fury, snatched my mask from my face, screaming that I was 'une Mazarine,' and should be stoned!" The priests then interfered; and by their connivance Madame de Motteville and her sister, after surrendering their purses to the mob, passed through the sacristy, and reached in safety the abode of a canon, her confessor, which was close at hand. From thence she was escorted in safety to her house in Paris by the Marquis de Beuvron, an old friend, and captain of the ward. Madame de Motteville, finding that she was *détenue*, craved the protection of Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, who occupied a suite of apartments in the Louvre. Henrietta, who was herself suffering agonies of terror and suspense, from the seizure of her correspondence and despatches from England, from poverty, and from her dismay at finding herself again in a furnace of sedition, gave kindly welcome to

her petitioner, and assigned her two rooms in the Louvre.

On the following day, January 7th, in the afternoon, a royal messenger arrived from St. Germain, and proceeding to the Palais, called the Attorney-general, M. Omer Talon, and delivered a mandate from the privy council, which required the Parliament to quit Paris within four days for Montargis. The envoy gave into the hands of Talon, a letter for the first president Molé; and another missive, addressed to the members of the High Court generally. The House, however, unanimously refused to receive the letters, which were duly presented by M. l'Avocat-Général Talon. "Members being apprised of their contents, and deeming it less disrespectful to disobey the King, without reading the mandates, ordered that they should be forthwith deposited, sealed, in the registry of the Chamber."* The Chamber then passed the following resolutions:—"That the packet sent by the court should remain sealed in the public registry; nevertheless, that the King's law officers should be deputed to visit the Queen at St. Germain, and implore her to name those persons who had so calumniated the Assembly, as she had stated in her letter addressed to the Provost and Sheriffs of Paris, that the said personages might be proceeded against, according to the rigour of the laws. That the Prevôt des Marchands should diligently see to the victualling of the capital, by compelling all the royal troops quar-

* Journal du Parlement, Ann. 1648; Registres du Parlement de Paris. Talon. t. ii.

tered in the towns and villages, within twenty leagues of the capital, to vacate their barracks, or lodgings." In order to strengthen the hands of the city authorities, the Parliament took courage to convene a general assembly, consisting of deputies from all the courts, the municipal authorities, the Archbishop of Paris, and his Coadjutor Monseigneur de Gondy, titular Archbishop of Corinth, the Governor of Paris, its military Governor, and all princes willing to aid the High Court in this its dread emergency; the assembly to be holden in the Chambre St. Louis. Perhaps had the Parliament limited its resolution to send deputies to the Queen, Anne might have felt more inclined to pacific remedy; but her anger was greatly excited by the warlike attitude of the Chamber, and by its decree to compel the retreat of the King's troops to within twenty leagues of Paris. The audacity, likewise, of its public acts, in refusing passage from the city to her servants and baggage; and the seizure of the city gates, were all, in her opinion, acts of heinous defiance. The people and Parliament, however, desired, at this period, success to their overtures: their defiance and blustering was rather the effect of fear than of hostility. The hearts of many were heavy at the thought, and prospect of civil war and bloodshed —of defying, and fighting against their child-King —and at the desolations of a siege, its horrors, and privations. They therefore sincerely wished well to the overture which the Attorney-General Talon, and his colleagues, *gens du Roi*, and therefore supposed to be the most acceptable of ambassadors, were deputed

to make to Queen Anne. As Talon himself has left a vivid, and ample relation of all that befell him on this momentous ambassage, the relation cannot be better given than in his own fervid words. The deputation left Paris at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th of January, whilst the snow fell heavily, and returned by eight o'clock on the following morning. "We entered our coach," relates Talon, "and traversed the Rue St. Honoré, which was full of people armed with sticks, axes, and other arms, who showed plainly that they were resolved on mischief, and sedition. At the barrier, we encountered great difficulties; but at the peril of our lives we prevailed, and arrived at eight o'clock at the top of the hill, near to St. Germain, called Pecq. At this spot a gentleman came to the door of the coach, stating that he was sent by the Queen to say that, if we were purposing to visit her as private persons, intending afterwards to obey her mandate, having left Paris *en route* for Montargis, she would receive us with pleasure; but if we came as deputies of the Parliament, she could not see us, as she recognised no Parliament sitting in Paris. We replied, that we were going to see and consult M. le Chancelier, our chief, and we begged the said gentleman to tell us his own name. He informed us that he was M. Sanguin, *maître d'hôtel* to the King in waiting, and that he would go to the Chancellor and bring us his reply. Until then, he begged us not to proceed on our way. After a long interval he returned, and told us that M. le Chancelier said, we had better return as we came; for, that he could not see us after the

message we had received from the Queen, unless we declared ourselves obedient subjects. We replied that we had nothing but pleasant words to say to the Queen; and that we implored her Majesty to see us, as private individuals, as deputies, or as her special officers of the crown; that we had come from Paris, in terrible weather, to serve her and the King; that we were then exposed, at nine o'clock of this severe night, to the inclemency of the season, and had been commanded to return with our errand unfulfilled, but that we could not conceive the Queen to be guilty of such severity." After keeping Talon and his colleagues shivering in the snow for another hour, Anne sent an ungracious message, that "as *gens du Roi*, and not as deputies of the Parliament, they might alight at the house of M. de Longueil, in the suburb." At eleven, Sanguin again visited the counsellors, and told them the Queen had consented that they should speak with M. le Chancelier. "The said Chancellor," to return to Talon's narrative, "told us that the Queen was highly incensed at the proceedings of the Parliament, which had broken faith with her; and that even yesterday, the Chamber had refused to receive and read letters from the King, an outrage, which even the Catholic King, the open enemy of the realm, would not have perpetrated. We observed, that if audience was denied us, the adjustment of these misunderstandings might be difficult; to which M. le Chancelier replied—'That in truth the Chamber would find adjustment difficult enough, and rude; for the Queen had resolved to compel the Parliament to obey; in default of which I

was to announce, on my return, that Paris would be besieged; that all its avenues were already blockaded; that the Duc d'Orléans had seized the Pont de St. Cloud; that M. le Prince was surveying Charenton; that St. Denis was occupied by the King's Swiss regiments; and that in twenty-four hours there would be 24,000 troops round Paris. Finally, M. le Chancelier reiterated the Queen's orders, 'that we had better retire from St. Germain.' Such being the case, we made no more representations, but set off in the middle of the night, timing our arrival, however, so that the gates of Paris might be open. God grant that all the woes may be obviated with which we are menaced, Messieurs! Providence alone can now save us, and protect us from the wrath of the Queen." *

The Chambre des Comptes, meantime, received a royal mandate transferring its session to Orleans: the Chambre des Aides, likewise, was ordered to depart, and continue its debates in the town of Nantes. The royal letters-missive were dutifully received, perused, and a resolution voted, that deputies from these law courts should seek audience of the Queen, and implore her *beinveillance*, "for members of the said courts, and for the afflicted city, from which its great luminary, the King, had been withdrawn." The deputations met with gracious reception: it was the Cardinal's policy to sow disunion amid the executive authorities of Paris, in the hope that these lower

* Mém. de Talon; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Journal du Parlement.

functionaries might rise, and, with the help of the people, drive the rebel Parliament from the city. A stormy scene ensued at the audience. Anne received the deputation, attended by Condé, and the Chancellor de Séguier. In reply to the remonstrances, the Queen said:—"Messieurs, I know how to discriminate between you, and the King's enemies. I will return to Paris, at your request, on this condition—that when I enter by one gate, the Parliament marches out at another. I will not suffer the insult of the presence of a Company which conspires against the crown, and with its foreign enemies!" Anne alluded to the intrigues of the Coadjutor, whose correspondence with the Archduke had come to the knowledge of ministers, on the very day that she left Paris. "But, Madame," replied Amelot, President of the Cour des Aides, "what you assert seems incredible! The Parliament is ready to obey all the King's mandates when presented, *dans les formes prescrites par les ordonnances.*" Séguier repeated these last words in a voice of angry irritation, and Amelot replied, "Yes, Monsieur, all ordinances presented in the form prescribed by the articles of the Chambre St. Louis, will be received with deference—namely, when freedom of debate, and general assent verifies such edicts." The wrath of Condé had been gradually lashing itself into fury, as he regarded the plain plebeian then standing in the presence of royalty, and uttering demands of such astounding audacity. "Messieurs, depart!" suddenly exclaimed the Prince, striding forwards, his hand on his sword. "Go! the House of Bourbon can very

well dispense with such Companies! Go! the Queen dismisses you from her presence!"*

The obduracy of the court drove the people of Paris to despair: there seemed nothing to choose between abject submission, or determined revolt. The court had the great Condé for its general: La Meilleraye, famed for his skill in besieging towns, was its devoted servant; it was, therefore, more than doubtful whether the issue of the civil conflict might not deliver the city and its inhabitants to the mercy of their incensed sovereign, including the noblemen who had volunteered their help. "The Queen is a Spaniard, M. le Cardinal, her favourite, is an Italian—woe to us if we trust to their clemency!" exclaimed several members in their speeches—and which was a fact, the street brawlers did their utmost to impress upon the people. There were two ways of warfare open to the rebellious Parliament in its struggle with the crown:—one was, the old and oft-defeated device of a treaty with Spain—the resource openly advocated by the Duc de Bouillon; or to raise civil war throughout the provinces of the realm, by the aid of the disaffected noblemen, and Parliaments. The report of the harsh reception given to the deputies at St. Germain, transported the Chamber with rage; the repulse was attributed to the evil influence of Mazarin, whose Italian craft, it was seriously maintained, threw a glamour over the mind of the Queen, and acted as a wicked spell on that of Condé, and others. Gondy

* Registres du Parlement. Fontanieu Bibl. Imp. Portefeuille, 490. Talon.

inflamed these apprehensions; he dreaded nothing so much as to fall a suppliant for pardon before Anne of Austria, whom he hated with rancour, and with the spite of defeated ambition. The court followed up its determined attitude by issuing a decree of council prohibiting the graziers of Poissy, Charenton, and Passy, from selling cattle for the victualling of the rebel city of Paris! All hope of conciliation vanished, and the Chamber tumultuously determined to launch defiance against defiance. The enemy they were about to pursue with frenzied zeal was Mazarin, to whom all evil was attributed—the man who held captive their young King, and who had enthralled their Regent in the disgraceful bonds of an amorous intrigue! who stole the revenues of the state; and had proved more than a match, in his Machiavellian resources, for that most tried and faithful of French statesmen, M. de Chavigny! Paris, therefore, was thrown into transports of joy, mingled, perhaps, with a little misgiving, by the promulgation on Friday, January 8th, of a decree of outlawry against Mazarin. "The court, *toutes chambres assemblées*, after deliberating on the report of those sent to St. Germain-en-Laye, to see the King—and the Queen Regent of this realm—who were refused audience, as this city was considered to be under siege, and no Parliament holding session in the said city, decrees that very humble remonstrances by letters-missive be made to the said Lord and King, and the said Lady and Regent: considering, that Cardinal Mazarin is notoriously the author and promoter of all the disorders of the realm,

and also of this present evil, this said Court proclaims, and declares him to be the disturber of public tranquillity, and the enemy of the King, and of his realm, and enjoins him to retire from St. Germain on this very day, and in eight days to vacate the realm. After the expiration of that said time of eight days, the High Court commands all the subjects of the King to pursue, and to arrest him, forbidding any person to harbour, or to succour the said outlaw. The High Court, moreover, decrees that efficient troops shall be levied, by authority of the Parliament, for the defence, and the garrison of this city, and of its inhabitants; and that the said troops shall also be employed to protect convoys of cattle, grain, and other necessaries for the victualling of this city." This decree was immediately notified to the Queen in a missive signed by Molé.

The same day, January 8th, another decree from the Queen came thundering down upon the capital. It was addressed to the President de Féron, Prevôt des Marchands, and commanded the municipal council "to drive the Parliament from their city, to clear the Palais, and to hold no communication with the said Parliament, in case the municipality found it impossible to obey the King." The Duc de Montbazon, governor of Paris, and six common-councilmen, brought this mandate to the bar of the Chamber. MM. de Féron and de Fournier then repaired to St. Germain, to pray the Queen to withdraw her grievous commands, and to relax in the rigour of her resentment. Anne received the two officers: Fournier addressed her in

such touching and plaintive language, that the bystanders were dissolved in tears, which even shone in the blue eyes of her Majesty. Anne rose hastily, and extended her hand to Fournier, which the latter respectfully grasped, in eager hope that at length that obdurate will had softened. "My good and brave Sheriff, tell the people of our city of Paris that my heart yearns to return to them!" exclaimed she, with emotion. "Nevertheless, if Paris desires us, it must first drive away that nest of seditious brawlers, the Parliament, the members of which have created this semblance, as you say, of revolt and sedition in the capital. Ah! if these Messieurs think to treat us as has been done to the King and Queen of England, they will find whom they have to deal with!" Always the same reply—the heart of Fournier and his friends sank—to wit "that when the Parliament had retired to Montargis their Majesties would return to Paris, but not before.

During the afternoon of the 8th, the council-general convened by the Parliament met in the Chambre St. Louis. It consisted of all the notabilities then in Paris excepting MM. de Bouillon, and de la Mothe, who declined to commit any overt act displeasing to the crown, unless such was sustained by the presence of MM. de Conty, and de Longueville. No intelligence had yet been heard of these personages; though a peremptory letter had reached Madame de Longueville from her brother Condé, commanding her to quit Paris, and to retire to Chantilly, or to her husband's château de Coulomniers—a missive which the duchess

wept over, but treated with contemptuous disregard. The Assembly met to devise the ways and means to raise funds to support a war; and to adopt a system which might stave off famine, if possible, from the besieged city. As yet the roads were open, and convoys reached Paris in safety, though harassed by Condé's soldiery, who deemed the frolic exquisite to rush down with fixed bayonets upon a party of fat citizens and burly farmers, leisurely plodding along; and to behold the woeful skurry and confusion in which the future defenders of Paris scampered away, leaving their convoys to the mercy of the assailants. It was first ordained that no magistrate, pending the troubles, should quit the city; that every day the Chamber should sit for the despatch of business, and afterwards assemble to acquit its true and legal functions—the administration of justice, and to give decisions as a final court of appeal in law-suits. The military force of the capital was not despicable: the city bands, however, had been trained to keep peace only in the streets, and not to encounter fierce, and well-disciplined legions. The *garde bourgeoise* was formed of recruits from the sixteen sections of the capital: each section furnished a regiment of 1200 men; to which was attached a corps in reserve, composed of artizans, workmen, and other persons whose avocations prevented their diligent attendance at the monthly parades. The colonels of these bands were wealthy citizens, owing obedience to their immediate superior, the Prevôt des Marchands. It was resolved to reserve the services of *la garde bourgeoise*, despite of the enthu-

siasm of its members, for the defence of the city within its walls. The Parliament, therefore, issued a commission addressed to the Prevôt des Marchands, authorising that officer to raise a body of volunteers, 14,000 strong; also two squadrons of cavalry, consisting of 5000 men, "to carry the war into the enemy's camp, to garrison the adjacent villages, and to provide men for foraging parties." The pay for the foot soldiers was fixed at ten sous the day, and from three to five francs for the officers. To raise funds for these warlike purposes, the Parliament proposed, and eventually carried, its famous decree, arresting "*les deniers royaux;*" and commanding all taxes, arrears, fines, and escheats throughout the realm to be paid into the coffers of the Hôtel de Ville, for the service of the Parliament. A house-tax was also imposed — 150 francs being levied on all houses in Paris having a *porte cochère*, and 30 francs upon all shops, and smaller tenements. Each *porte cochère* was said to furnish a man and a horse—hence the levies paid by this tax went by the ludicrous *sobriquet* of *La Cavalerie des Portes Cochères.* The Coadjutor magnificently promised to equip, and to feed a regiment during the troubles; which regiment was immediately dubbed by Anne's facetious rebels, *Le regiment des Corinthiens.* —Gondy being titular Archbishop of Corinth. The contribution offered by the united Parliament to the public fund was one million francs—a sum which, in these days, would be equal to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Four hundred thousand francs of this sum was contributed by fifteen coun-

sellors, intruders into the august body, who, despite the resistance of the rest, had purchased their offices from Richelieu; and who, in consideration of this fine, were suffered to retain them unmolested for the future.*

Finding the Parliament in earnest, and the Queen resolute in her support of Mazarin, several of the malcontent lords came dropping in; three days, however, had elapsed since the departure of the Queen, and no tidings had reached Paris of their generalissimo elect, M. de Conty, and his brother-in-law. Meantime, M. de Brissac offered his co-operation; and informed the Coadjutor that M. d'Elbœuf was on his way to Paris, having quitted St. Germain to tender his services as general-in-chief of the Parliament. Nothing could equal the consternation of the subtle prelate at this intimation. Notwithstanding their silence, Gondy felt certain of the eventual presence of Conty, and of the Duc de Longueville. The magnet of M. de Conty was his beautiful sister, whom he loved as intensely at this period as he hated his brother Condé. The Duc de Longueville, the Coadjutor felt also secure of. The Queen treated him coldly, and the Cardinal with hauteur; besides, the duke had left his wife in Paris,† already committed to the cause, and daily expecting her confinement. The Duc d'Elbœuf was a prince

* Talon. Journal du Parlement. Archives du Royaume. Aubéry.—Vie de Mazarin, t. I. Gualdo; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville. These counsellors were ever after distinguished by the *sobriquet* of *Les Quinze Vingts*.

† The Duc de Brissac, "entra dans ce parti à cause de l'alliance qui etait entre lui, et le Coadjuteur," writes Madame de Nemours, daughter of the Duc de Longueville.

of Lorraine Guise, and popular with the people. Like all the princes of Lorraine, he possessed tact and courage; but which qualities in M. d'Elbœuf, were neutralised by want of judgment. Arriving at a period when the Parliament felt its helplessness, there was every probability that the services of the duke, as general of the recently voted levies, would be accepted with rapture, and gratitude; and that he would at once be invested with the title of generalissimo. Gondy, however, felt that his great league of princes against the crown, necessary to support the disaffection of the people of Paris, must collapse under the guidance of d'Elbœuf: without the adhesion of the said princes, Gondy ridiculed the futile efforts of the Parliament to defy the royal power. The Coadjutor meant revolt in earnest: the deposition of the Regent by the aid of Spanish armies; the elevation of Monsieur in her stead; and his own assumption of power as Cardinal-minister of state! The Parliament, loyal to the King, hated le Mazarin; whom they accused of being the hindrance to the success of the reactionary movement, which arose so soon as Richelieu's iron bondage was relaxed by the death of Louis XIII. Meantime, M. d'Elbœuf arrived, and duly presenting himself to the Coadjutor, announced his intention of proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville, and offering his military services.* "I was in despair," relates Gondy. "I knew that M. de la Mothe† would not stir a step

* M. d'Elbœuf entra dans le parti, parce qu'il pensa, qu'il aurait le principal commandement," writes the same sage personage.

† M. de la Mothe d'Houdancourt, military Governor of Paris.

until the arrival of M. de Longueville; and I could not say that I expected him, for fear of causing his arrest, and that of M. de Conty. M. de Bouillon, already suspicious, might see fresh cause for suspicion in the presence of M. d'Elbœuf, and would not act until after the arrival of M. de Conty; while M. de Conty would not accept command under M. d'Elbœuf!" M. d'Elbœuf, meantime, was received with acclamations. In vain Gondy's emissaries tried to get up counter-cheers and calls for M. de Conty—the people displayed the utmost aversion for the brother of Condé. The duke was master of the situation for the night of the 10th of January. In vain the Coadjutor, in disguise, perambulated the city, and insinuated that d'Elbœuf was a spy sent by the Queen; that he intended to betray the city, and that his sons were cowards, as well as traitors. Scarcely had Gondy retired to repose after his nocturnal rambles, than one of his officers rushed to inform him that M. de Conty and the Duc de Longueville were said to be at one of the gates of Paris, actually knocking in vain for admission, so greatly were they suspected by the people! A thousand men of the *garde bourgeoise* had turned out on the rumour of their arrival; a cannon had been pointed at the gate without which they patiently stood, though in danger of being surprised by the King's officers. Wild with dismay, Gondy rose, and on inquiry finding the report to be true, he rushed to the abode of Broussel, and pulling that popular personage from his bed, together they went to the Porte St. Honoré, preceded by a dozen flambeaux. "We had

the greatest difficulty in threading the crowds," relates Gondy. "It was broad daylight before we got the people to open the gate, so great was their mistrust. We harangued furiously, and at length brought M. le Prince de Conty, and his brother-in-law to the Hôtel de Longueville." Notwithstanding the arrival of the Prince, M. d'Elbœuf presented himself early in the Palais, and, offering his military services to the Parliament, was accepted as their general by a majority of votes, led by Molé, despite the determined opposition of the Presidents Longeuil, Blancménil, le Coigneux, Viole, and of Broussel; who understood, and abetted the scheme of the Coadjutor, to give the rebellion significance and power, by the appointment of M. de Conty as generalissimo.

On the night of the 10th of January, Conty and his brother-in-law fled from St. Germain. Their design had been enveloped in the utmost secrecy; as arrest would have been the penalty, had Mazarin divined that such a flight was even probable. Condé maintained so positively that all the members of his family would obey and follow his political creed, that Anne discarded suspicion. In the case of Madame de Longueville, the Queen believed, or affected to do so, that the duchess had assigned the true reason for her stay in Paris—namely, her approaching *accouchement*. Condé, however, less lenient, showed much indignation at her presence in the capital; and, before the Queen, he taunted the Duc de Longueville with his credulous indulgence of the whims of an "unfaithful wife," whom, "if she were my wife, I should shut up

for life in one of my distant castles."* M. de Longueville, though well aware of the deviations of his beautiful wife, had naturally a great aversion to such public allusion thereto. "M. de Longueville," writes his daughter,† in her Memoirs, "knew enough of his wife's proceedings, and had no difficulty in believing all that her brother asserted against her; but there the matter ended. The duke was not by nature sensitive, while he was perfectly incapable of perpetrating a violent action." Condé, therefore, irritated the duke by such ill-advised taunts, which had the effect of giving him a distaste for the Queen's service, over which Condé was now paramount; while the resentment of Conty was roused by his brother's taunts relative to his incapacity, which made the young prince burn to achieve some notable deed independent of his patronage. Such was the state of chronic irritation on the minds of these two important personages, in the great drama improvising by the Coadjutor Gondy, when on the 9th the envoy from the Parliament brought the startling intelligence of the act launched on the preceding day against Mazarin. A cabinet council was convened, at which the Queen presided. Anne was an admirable actress—few that have trodden this world's restless stage have surpassed her—but it was with difficulty that she then restrained the wrathful indignation which agitated

* The acts of the Great Condé, in regard to his own consort, even on the merest suspicion of wrong doing, showed how terribly in earnest he was when he spoke such words to his brother-in-law.

† Marie d'Orléans Longueville, Duchesse de Nemours.

her when she heard of that "atrocious enterprise—this insane and treasonable tampering with the royal power!" Words in her own native tongue hissed from her lips, as she crushed the letter of the Parliament in her hand, and threw it from her. The chief lords present at St. Germain were invited to share the deliberations of the council; the decree had struck alarm, and aroused indecision in the breasts of many who quitted Paris, enthusiastic for the royal cause. These time-servers began to reflect, that the Parliament had not declared war against the King, but only against "his foreign minister." The Chamber had also proclaimed obedience to the Regent, within the limits prescribed by the famous articles of the Chambre St. Louis, which Anne had solemnly ratified, and accepted. At the council, Mazarin, glancing around, detected the doubts and misgivings stamped upon many a friendly face; he shrunk also from the haughty patronage of Condé, and the semi-irony of his homage. The Cardinal, therefore, as was his wont on perilous emergencies, spoke modestly, reviling no one, and alluding to his own pretensions and presence, as the very last facts to be considered. "Madame," said he, "the Parliament has placed on solemn record that I am the cause of the woes of this kingdom. It is not permissible, Madame, neither is it right or proper, that so powerful a realm—to the glory of which I have contributed all in my power—should be convulsed, and perhaps ruined, for my sake. I, therefore, very humbly demand permission from your Majesty to retire to Italy or elsewhere—wherever destiny may

summon me!" "No, Monsieur!" replied the Queen, hotly, "I will not give you that permission. You have never been more necessary to me, and to this realm, than at the present moment. The King deliberately, and authoritatively refuses to consent to the exile of a minister so able—*certes*, because insolent rebels clamour for a shorter way to overturn the throne. I command," continued the Queen, rising, "that no one present ever presumes to speak of this matter to me again; and that you yourself, M. le Cardinal, show submission to my will!"* Anne's fierce and dauntless language imposed silence even on the intrepid Condé; and his ready tongue found no other words, than to echo her denunciations against the traitors of Paris, of whom he soon hoped to render good account. When the council rose, however, the Marquis de la Boullaye fled from St. Germain, leaving a letter for Condé, stating that, devoted as he was to the royal cause, he deemed that he was making the best demonstration of his loyalty by joining the Parliament, and by accepting its motto—"*Loyauté pour le Roi: dévotion pour la Reine Régente, en les bornes prescrites par la Declaration du* 24 *d'Octobre*, 1648." Many noblemen feared arrest, as it had transpired, through the indiscretion of the Duchesse de Lesdiguières†, that the Duc d'Elbœuf, in reality the Queen's secret partisan, had written assuring her

* L'Espion Turc (Marana) aux cours des Princes Chrétiens. La Rochefoucauld Mém. Ann. 1648.

† Anne de la Magdaleine, daughter and heiress of Leonor de Magdeleine, Marquis de Ragny, and of Hippolito de Gondy, aunt of the Coadjutor.

Majesty of her popularity in Paris; and his hope of soon negotiating an armistice by the submission of the Parliament; when all particulars relating to the secret *menées* of her servants would be laid before her. Few were then at St. Germain who might not dread some reminiscence of their past tamperings with the popular party; and prejudiced as was their royal mistress in favour of Mazarin, they deemed that they had everything to dread, when opposition no longer arrested the waves of her wrath. Amongst the *fuyards* from court on the night between the 10th and 11th of January, were Conty, and the Duc de Longueville. At midnight they crept from the royal abode, and rode at full speed until they reached the Porte St. Honoré. Once, however, the conscience and the courage of the Duc de Longueville failed him: he drew in his rein, and proposed to return. "Monsieur," said he, "let us return to the King—let us refrain from setting fire to the four corners of France, which will undoubtedly occur, if you and I abandon the royal cause!" Conty, however, glad to escape from the *surveillance* of his brother and the Queen, and already anticipating the rapture of his reception by his sister, blandly declined —and so la Fronde gained its royal patrons.

Madame la Princesse, who was with the Queen at St. Germain, learned the tidings of the flight of her younger son in despair. She dreaded the reproaches of Anne of Austria; and she feared the furious anger of her son Condé, who had departed at dawn for Charenton, to take survey of some city troops under M. de Clanleu, just sent to seize, and to garrison that

important outpost, for the victualling of Paris. The princess, in tears, went to the Queen's apartment, before Anne left her bed, and informed her of the catastrophe. The Queen's face clouded, and for some interval she listened in silence to the plaints, and rhapsodies of the princess. Anne's kinder nature at length prevailed; and she affectionately assured Madame de Condé, "that however vexatious, and detrimental to the King's cause the act of her son might prove, she would never withdraw her friendship from the Princess, of whose innocence and regret she had no doubt." The Queen then sent for M. de Villeroy, and ordered him to inform the Cardinal of the event. Alarm instantly seized upon Mazarin: M. de Condé likewise had quitted St. Germain at dawn—what if he also, instead of visiting Charenton, had gone to help the Parliament to drive the proscribed minister from the realm? He repaired to impart his suspicions to the Queen, with whom he found the Duc d'Orléans. Monsieur fidgeted, laughed in senseless fashion, and thus made matters worse. This suspense lasted till about three in the afternoon, when Condé returned. The news which awaited him transported the prince with fury. "Indeed," relates Madame de Nemours, "such was his excess of mad, wild rage, that no one dared to speak to him; while he uttered such terrible accusations against his brother, and his sister for their desertion, and for the obstacles which it raised against the speedy reduction of Paris, that no one could doubt the sincerity of his fury." A few hours subsequently, Condé entered the presence-

chamber of the Queen, looking still very angry and excited, dragging after him a miserable hunchbacked dwarf, whom he had dressed up in a gilt cuirass and helmet. "See, Madame," exclaimed he, approaching, "see, and salute Conty, the Grand Generalissimo of Paris!" Condé's bitter ridicule, however, it is to be feared, arose from wounded self-esteem at the desertion of his brother and sister, rather than from any very exalted enthusiasm for the cause of the Queen, and M. Mazarin.

In Paris, meantime, the presence of Conty occasioned great debates, and heart-burnings. The Parliament was satisfied with M. d'Elbœuf for its general; and agreed with the people in viewing the claims of Conty with apprehension and disgust, though the members had carried matters far in their defiance of the King. Yet the most factious shrank with terror from the insinuation, that they were conspiring to overthrow the throne. It is a remarkable fact, the utter silence maintained by all the orators of Parliament relative to the proceedings in England, where at this time King Charles was on his trial before Cromwell, and his Commissioners. Molé, the shrewd and moderate statesman, began to distrust Gondy; to suspect his intercourse with Madame de Chevreuse, and with the Archduke Leopold; and to perceive that other designs lurked under the Coadjutor's energy, beside the ostensible one of compelling the Queen to return to Paris, and to govern in conformity with the Articles of La Chambre St. Louis. A great swarm of discontented nobles had followed in the wake of M. de

Longueville: the Ducs de Chevreuse, de Luynes, de Brissac, de Retz, the Marquesses de Noirmoutiers, de la Boullaye, de Montresor, and de St. Ibal, had presented themselves, and offered to fight the battles of the Parliament. Over this cohort, headed by the Ducs de Bouillon and de Longueville, Conty claimed command; but the members understood that the general of the malcontent and powerful vassals of the crown, would not long remain the obedient servant of the Parliament.

After the arrival of M. de Conty in Paris, Gondy presented him to the Chamber. M. d'Elbœuf was elated with his success; nevertheless, the sincerity of his professions was suspected by many. Had not this doubt subsisted, which was inflamed by the artifices of the Coadjutor, the Parliament would probably have persisted in its choice. Considering that the mission of the High Court was to secure the liberties of the realm equally against the encroachments of the crown, and to guard against the treason of its disaffected vassals, Molé strongly urged the policy of confirming in his command a general who promised obedience; and who certainly, was more independent than M. de Conty could be of the influences of personages, who were about to make Paris an arena for the vindication of their private animosities, and ambition. As the coach of the Coadjutor drew up to the Palais, M. d'Elbœuf was seen advancing in state as General of the Parliament, attended by a great escort of armed men. Cries of "*Vive son Altesse d'Elbœuf*," "*Vive le Coadjuteur!*" rent the air; but

not a single acclamation rose for the pale and timid boy-prince, who had suffered his great name to be used as a bond to bind together rival pretensions. Gondy was obliged to leave his *protégé* at the door of the Chamber, as he had no seat in Parliament as coadjutor of Paris; a few days of clever canvassing, however, removed that disability. M. de Conty said, "that having fully realised and heard the pernicious counsels which were given to the Queen at St. Germain, he had thought it incumbent upon him as a prince of the blood to oppose such, and to offer his services to the Parliament." This declaration from a prince of the blood, was tantamount to a demand for supreme command, as Conty's rank forbade him to serve under any other banner but that of Bourbon. M. d'Elbœuf, who, like all the other princes of Lorraine, possessed a fluent tongue, and undaunted presence, replied:— "Notwithstanding the deep respect which he entertained for the blood royal, he it was who had broken through the barrier which separated the Parliament from the Princes by the offer of his services; and as Parliament had done him the honour to elect him as its General, he would never cede the honour." Shouts of applause followed, during which M. de Conty was glad to make his retreat.

All that night the Coadjutor was busy with his intrigues, preparing for the *séance* of the following day, when he had resolved to pinch out the pretensions of M. d'Elbœuf; and to make him realise the fact of how very small a man he was, in comparison with the great magnates around. Flitting from house to house,

from street to street, like an Asmodeus in his troubled wanderings, Gondy propagated slanders against M. d'Elbœuf, while lauding the courage and "Spartan fearlessness" of M. de Conty, who had trusted himself in the Chamber with his insidious supplanter, although he had been warned of his unpopularity, and might well dread for his life. He visited the Duc de Bouillon, who was still surly, doubtful, and troubled with gout. "It is not the fashion of the house of Bouillon to make war in this pettifogging manner. As sovereign princes, we treat with sovereign princes. Away then with your puny citizens, louts who cannot carry a sword, and let us trust in the aid of the Catholic King!" haughtily exclaimed Bouillon. Gondy listened to the transport with his ineffable smile, and succeeded in softening down the duke's choler; so that he promised on the morrow to make his *entrée* in the Chamber, and there to take part in the dramatic scene already arranged in the Coadjutor's fertile fancy.

The following morning, therefore, January 11th, the Prince de Conty, the Duc de Longueville, and the Coadjutor went down in state to the Palais, driving thither in a splendid coach and six, belonging to Madame de Longueville. M. de Longueville was conducted to a seat, as not being a peer of the realm he had no place in the Chamber. M. d'Elbœuf, General of the Parliament, sat close to the first President, looking bravely, but scarcely prepared for the scene that was to follow. The Duc de Longueville then said that he offered to the Companies his services, with Rouen, Caen, Dieppe, and the whole of Nor-

mandy, of which province he was governor; he, moreover, begged the Companies to receive, in pledge and token of his fidelity, and that of M. de Conty, Madame la Duchesse his wife, and his children, who, if the members permitted, would take up their residence in the Hôtel de Ville. This declaration caused a vivid sensation, in the midst of which the Duc de Bouillon entered, leaning heavily on two gentleman, and took his seat above M. de Longueville. Bouillon did not possess much grace of rhetoric, but bluntly offered his services to the Parliament, stating, that he should serve with joy under so great a prince as Conty. The Duc d'Elbœuf thereupon rose in a fume, and stated that the Parliament having done him the honour to elect him, he did not intend to resign his functions. Whilst sharp words were being bandied between the princes, the Marshal de la Mothe appeared, and taking his seat, stated, that he offered his sword to the Parliament to serve under the banner of M. de Conty. These rival pretensions caused dire bewilderment amongst the members; and Molé, finding that the presence of the princes prevented the free expression of opinion, requested them all to retire to the adjacent committee rooms, pending the discussions of the Chamber on so important a subject.

While the deliberations were pending, Gondy, ever active and ready, bethought himself of a brilliant device to propitiate the people; and to make the city resound with acclamations for Conty, which should echo back even to the Palais. The sumptuous equipage of the Duc de Longueville still waited without: Gondy,

therefore, placing himself in it, ordered the coachman to drive back to his master's mansion. Arrived at the Hôtel de Longueville, the Coadjutor entered, and in a few minutes returned, leading the Duchesse de Longueville, who emerged, having thrown a lace veil over her fair hair, followed by her four children. The Duchess and her children got into the coach, attended by Gondy, who ordered that they should be driven to the Hôtel de Bouillon. There the same scene occurred—Madame de Bouillon and her children were placed in the coach, which drove off to the Hôtel de Ville. The ladies were not altogether unpleasantly taken by surprise by this sudden *escapade* of the Coadjutor's, as much of the affair had been settled on the previous evening. The presence of Madame de Longueville was expected to be especially advantageous at head-quarters in the city, as the allegiance of the Provost Féron was supposed to be slack towards his new masters. "Wit without heart is of little use in grand and momentous affairs," says the Coadjutor, in his Memoirs. The ladies, therefore, took heart to traverse the tumultuous city under his sole escort, and arrived in safety at the Hôtel de Ville. The Grève was crowded even to the roofs of the houses with spectators, waiting for the official proclamation from the broad steps of the Hôtel de Ville, of the resolutions, and decrees of the Chamber. "Imagine, I pray you, the effect produced by the sudden apparition of two most lovely women on the balcony of the Hôtel

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, ann. 1649; Archives du Royaume.

de Ville,—the more charming, as their aspect and raiment bespoke easy negligence, and surprise. Each of the ladies carried a child in her arms, beautiful as its mother. The Place was crowded—the men uttered cheers of joy, all the women wept with emotion." Having conducted the two duchesses thus far, Gondy, impatient to be gone to watch the further proceedings in the Palais, left the ladies to pursue their *rôle;* after having first thrown a sum of five hundred pistoles out of the windows of the Hôtel on the crowds beneath.

The city councilmen were holding court on that morning, when one of the officials entered the council-chamber to inform the Provost, that the Duchesses de Longueville, and de Bouillon had arrived, and had alighted from their coach. MM. de la Ville, therefore, hastened to receive such illustrious guests, and found the duchesses promenading arm in arm in the great hall, upon which the balcony opened. Madame de Longueville advanced gravely towards the Provost, saying, "M. de Longueville, not having anything dearer in the world than his wife and children, has sent us to you, as hostages of his fidelity: we therefore ask hospitality from MM. de la Ville." Great was the perplexity of the good city functionaries at the unexpected descent of such a posse of grand ladies. "Mesdames," said Féron, "we have little accommodation here for personages of your quality; besides, the city has not the smallest doubt of the fidelity of M. de Longueville." "Messieurs, any shelter you can bestow will suffice us. We are here to become the guests of our good city of Paris," said Madame de Longueville,

majestically. Féron then led the ladies into a large but scantily furnished room, looking upon the Rue St. Jean, which was offered to the duchess, and pronounced by her to be commodious, and satisfactory. Some of the councilmen having maliciously pointed out that the windows were crazy and in bad repair, the duchess made no reply, except, that all should be repaired and made suitable; that she would send for chairs, beds, and tables from the Hôtel de Longueville. The duchess then asked whether there were rats in that chamber? and on receiving a reply in the affirmative, she remarked, "that she would also have several cats forwarded from her hôtel."* When the city authorities recovered from their consternation, more apartments were assigned to the enterprising duchess, her children, and step-daughter. As for Madame de Bouillon, her visits were only occasional, the impaired health of her consort being an excuse willingly accepted by the counsellors. A burlesque song, consisting of many verses, highly complimentary to the Duchess de Longueville, was composed in memory of this adventure, and sung about the streets of Paris. The first verse ran thus:—

"Longueville,—ce seigneur prudent et sage
Donne ses enfants en ôtage
Avec Madame leur Mamman
Qui n'est superbe comme un paon
Mais dont l'humeur douce et courtoise
Cause avec la moindre bourgeoise!"

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, ann. 1649; Archives du Royaume; Mém. de Retz. t. i.; Talon. Mém. ann. 1649; Langlade, Vie de Frederic Maurice, Duc de Bouillon.

Madame de Longueville had scarcely leisure to congratulate herself upon the success of her enterprise, when a great commotion without, the shrill blast of trumpets, and cheering from many voices, announced that the important deliberations of Parliament had terminated.

The Chamber, finding that the great lords intended to serve under the banner of Conty, or else to retire from the city, resolved, after much debate, to declare the Prince their generalissimo: the Ducs d'Elbœuf, de Bouillon, and the Marshal de la Mothe d'Houdencourt were nominated generals,—the Duc d'Elbœuf to have the precedence; the Duc de Beaufort, whose arrival was hourly expected, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and the Marquis de Noirmoutiers were declared lieutenants-general of the Parliament. The Duc de Longueville, whose heart never went thoroughly with the popular cause, gladly accepted the proposal made to him, that he should defend the interests of the Parliament in Normandy. M. d'Elbœuf made ineffectual protests against the indignity of his deposition from the office conferred upon him; but dread of the turbulent populace soon reduced him to passive obedience.

Thus was inaugurated La Guerre de la Fronde—a *sobriquet* which took its rise from the following circumstances: certain schoolboys, and little street *gamins* were in the habit of amusing themselves by fighting with slings (*frondes*) in the ditches of Paris, shouting, and making noisy demonstrations. MM. de la Cour, in the discharge of their high functions in debate, were frequently guilty, in the excitement of

the moment, of great want of courtesy, "as, instead of trying to enlighten each other by better argument, their dissent from a speaker was manifested by loud hootings, and hisses. This was, properly speaking, *fronder*. One day, however, M. Bachaumaut, son of the President le Coigneux after a speech from his father, followed by the usual outcry, said he was going to "*bien fronder l'avis de son père!*" The speech of Le Coigneux was a diatribe against Mazarin; and a witty and ready wag on the benches composed a verse on the spot, which he commenced to sing:—

"Un vent de Fronde,
S'est levé ce matin,
Je crois qu'il gronde
Contre le Mazarin!
Un vent de Fronde,
S'est levé ce matin!"

The refrain "*Un vent de Fronde,*" etc., was taken up by a hundred strong voices, and sung enthusiastically. The war was at once christened La Fronde: emblems were worn by the chieftains and ladies; and the blue scarfs of their partizans were ornamented on the shoulders with devices of slings embroidered in gold.

CHAPTER II.

1649.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, AND LA FRONDE.

THE royal army, by the 10th of January, had seized the principal avenues leading to the capital. Condé stationed the Duke of Orleans at St. Cloud; the Marshal de Grammont at Issy; at St. Denis was the Marshal du Plessis. Ligny, Corbeil, Passy, and numerous other little villages, were also strongly garrisoned.* On the 14th of January, the King issued a manifesto, declaring all the princes, and lords, in the besieged city, guilty of high treason, degraded, and deprived of their estates, titles, and offices, unless within three days they laid down arms, and repaired to St. Germain.† The levies of the Fronde, meantime, were duly exercised; but by the prudent advice of the Duke de Bouillon, their ardour was restrained for immediate encounter with the royal troops. A council of war met daily at the Hôtel de Ville, Madame de Longueville being always present. Each of the Generals adopted a flag, and motto. The stan-

* The sole routes therefore open to the Parisians were to Orleans, to Rouen, and to the county of la Beauce.

† Bill. Imp. MS. Fontanieu, No. 490, 491; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville.

dard of Conty the Generalissimo, bore the image of Phæton falling from his car, with the motto, "*Meritas dabis, improbe, pœnas.*" Bouillon bore the device of a sword, encircled by olive branches, and the motto, "*Dabit ultio pacem.*" The flag of the Parliament was blue, spangled with golden stars—the motto, "*Quæremus Regem nostrum.*" The first warlike exploit emanated from the Parliament, by the capture of the Bastille. M. de Tremblay and his small garrison were summoned to surrender. A mob filled the Place de la Bastille; and a few cannon were dragged from the arsenal, and placed so as to command the gates of the fortress. The Marshal de la Mothe commanded the besieging party. Meantime, the Duchesses de Longueville and de Bouillon, with many other ladies, all attired in blue silk robes, occupied chairs in the garden of the Arsenal, to witness the conflict. They were escorted by M. de la Boulaye, and a squadron of *la Cavalerie des Portes Cochères.* The ladies laughed and jested; Madame de Longueville, "*douce et courtoise,*" chaffed with the *harengères* of the capital, who followed in troops wherever the Coadjutor went. Songs of the most ribald kind were sung by the mob against Madame Anne, and le Mazarin. Evidently, however, from the prevailing hilarity, no serious conflict was anticipated. Suddenly a great roar of artillery shook the Place; another discharge flashed from the towers of the fortress. The gates were then opened, the drawbridge lowered, the people cheered, and M. de Tremblay emerged, followed by his garrison. Tremblay presented the keys of the fortress to the Duke de

Montbazon, and was then permitted to quit Paris for St. Germain, escorted to the Porte St. Honoré by the *garde bourgeoise.* Broussels' son-in-law, M. de Louviers, was then installed as governor of the Bastille, which was forthwith garrisoned by the city levies. Every one then went home, to rejoice and triumph in the first successes of the Union.

On the 14th of January, the Duc de Beaufort arrived, and was received by Gondy, and paraded by him through all the city wards. Beaufort was the delight, and *enfant cheri* of the Parisian heroines of les Halles. His handsome face, his vacant but good-natured blue eyes, his long fair hair which streamed down his back, his jovial spirits, his aptitude in speaking the *argot* of the lowest of the populace, his gallant manner when addressing even the coarsest *poissarde,* and a certain dash and bluster in deportment, rendered M. de Beaufort incomparably the most influential personage in controlling the swarming populace of the Quartiers St. Antoine, and St. Jacques. "You can scarcely realise the weight of these qualities, and you cannot therefore imagine their power over the people. I wanted a phantom to hide behind; and it was lucky for me that I discovered this phantom in a grandson of Henri le Grand, who spoke the language of les Halles, which is not a common qualification in a son of Henri le Grand," writes the Coadjutor. The doings of the municipal authorities, also, were keenly watched, as Féron was known to be in daily communication with the Queen. Vehement agitation presently ensued, following an alarm which, for an hour

or two convulsed the city, occasioned by some wag dropping crackers, and detonating balls down through the cellar gratings, of certain good citizens of the Rue Neuve Nôtre Dame; and which raised the cry that Féron intended to fire the suburbs, and in the confusion consequent on the catastrophe to open the gates to Condé's soldiers. The Provost was therefore summoned to depart from Paris; or to place himself, and the affairs of the city, in the closest possible relation with the Parliament, by undertaking that every missive received from St. Germain should be presented at the bar of the Chamber. The Parliament, meantime, continued to discharge its usurped functions, though with much hindrance from its noble generals; who urged energetic and decisive measures, and groaned, on witnessing the bungling manœuvres of the bands in training to encounter the great Condé, and his victorious troops. An active correspondence, moreover, was maintained by the Duke de Beaufort, and by his ally Madame de Montbazon, with the Duchess de Chevreuse, who had removed from Liège to Brussels, in order the better to aid the correspondence of the disaffected lords with Spain, and the Archduke. The Duchess de Bouillon also, a subject born of Spain, and formerly maid of honour to the Archduchess Infanta Isabel, maintained active correspondencies. The Coadjutor likewise intrigued through M. de Montrésor and Madame de Chevreuse; and had actually asked for the aid of Spanish soldiers, to be admitted within the city of Paris, in case the Parliament should suddenly incline to make terms with the Queen, and abandon

the lords. The Duc de Bouillon, at this period, proposed that an attempt should be made to suborn to the Parliament the army of *reiters* and Swiss soldiers, under his gallant brother, Turenne; and moved that a sum of 100,000 crowns should be despatched for distribution. The Chamber negatived, or rather postponed the matter. Molé and the leading members had no inclination to increase the power of the princes, which they jealously contemplated, and desired to keep subordinate. On the 13th of January a decree was launched, commanding that all the rich effects of the Palais Mazarin should be seized, and sold by auction. This decree was met by a counter edict from the Queen, proclaiming that all persons who took part in the contemplated outrage, should be declared guilty of treason; and the city of Paris eventually mulcted in a sum double in amount to the value of the effects pillaged.* The Parliament also voted a sum of 20,000 livres for the support of Henriette Marie, Queen of England, who was living in the Louvre. Gondy takes to himself the credit of having obtained this grant for Henrietta.† Visiting her Majesty one morning, he found her in great distress, having no money to buy food, or to pay her household; while the royal tradesmen refused longer to supply her with necessary articles on credit. The Queen was sitting disconsolately with her daughter, the little Princess Henrietta Stuart. "See, M. le Coadjuteur," said she,

* A letter was also written in the King's name to the town authorities.

† Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin; Registres du Parlement, ann. 1649; Journal du Parlement.

"I am sitting here to keep Henrietta company; the poor child cannot rise to-day, because we have no fire." "You may be sure," writes the Coadjutor, "that Madame d'Angleterre on the morrow was not compelled to lie in bed for want of a log! Posterity will hardly credit as a fact, that a queen of England, granddaughter of Henri Quatre, suffered from want of a fire in the middle of January, in the palace of the Louvre, and under the very eyes of the court."

On the 17th of January, the troops of the Fronde made their first *sortie*, departing, as it was formally announced, to dislodge the Marshal du Plessis from St. Denis, and seize that post. The Marshal de la Mothe led the *sortie*, in which the regiment of the Coadjutor, under his *protégé*, M. Serrigni, figured. Du Plessis made a sally from St. Denis at the head of 200 royal troops, to meet the foe. The valiant city bands no sooner found themselves confronting the King's soldiers, and upon the point of wielding a fight in earnest, than they turned, and fled wildly back to the city gates, where they were received with laughter, and derisive cheers. It was afterwards proclaimed, by way of palliation, that out of respect for the royal standard, M. de la Mothe had refrained from firing the first shot. Caricatures and squibs innumerable commemorated this unlucky sally; and this first feat of the Coadjutor's regiment, was called by the laughter-loving populace "*la première au Corinthiens.*" In the saloon of Madame de Longueville, at the Hotel de Ville, the wits of the capital nightly assembled. All the cavaliers wore blue scarfs, amongst whom M. de la Rochefou-

cauld reigned conspicuously in the favour of the graceful hostess. The scene within, and around the Hôtel de Ville during those cold January nights was curious, and unique. A crowd always surrounded the edifice ready to cheer Broussel, or any other popular orator who happened to appear at intervals on the balconies. Sometimes Madame de Longueville, braving the cold, showed herself, attended by a swarm of noble torch-bearers. On the Place, hundreds of flambeaux threw a lurid glare over the Seine; trumpets were perpetually sounding, as M. de Conty thought that no device was so effectual for rousing martial zeal; while perhaps at the other extremity of the Place, a group of noisy brawlers acted a comedy, or initiated the people into the fun of the last new Mazarinade, which was received with roars of laughter. Within, the apartments of the Queen of the Fronde were thronged with guests, who made it their nightly rendezvous. Every order of person, and condition, was represented—soldiers, civilians, members of parliament in their robes, monks with shaven crowns, cavaliers, citizens, priests, bishops, now and then a popular courtezan or two, always the inevitable Coadjutor Gondy, duchesses, and great lords. Sometimes the guests danced; at other times a conversazione was preferred. After a conflict between the royal and parliamentary troops, the evening was all the merrier, and enlivened with puns. When affairs went badly for the Fronde, a council of war would be convened in an adjacent apartment. Throughout the duration of the blockade of three

months, the actual pressure of famine was never felt. Corn was sold under the inspection of commissioners named by the Parliament, in the long gallery of the Louvre. Condé's army blockaded the principal avenues leading to the city, but not every inlet. His army of 14,000 men was not considerable enough effectually to surround the vast city; and he waited impatiently for the junction of the army under Turenne, to complete the castigation of the rebellious capital. The Duc de Bouillon was the ogre of the city: terribly in earnest, like Queen Anne, proud, unsociable, and feeling that his position in Paris was derogatory to his rank, he shut himself up in his hôtel, and under pretext of gouty maladies, took little part in the government. His clever, lively duchess solaced herself by sparring discourses with the Coadjutor; and by mysterious, and frequent correspondences with the court of Brussels, and with her brother-in-law Turenne.

Meantime, possession was taken of the Palais Mazarin by command of the Parliament, who placed therein a commissioner, one Gabriel Naudé, to hold the rich effects on behalf of the city. The royal prohibition had had the effect of suspending the auction of Mazarin's valuables; which, nevertheless, were exhibited, and the galleries of the mansion frequented as a public museum. At the contemplation of his rare and beautiful collections, popular indignation flamed forth against the "Italian vagabond" who came penniless to France ten years previously, and had managed to accumulate riches, in comparison to which the furni-

ture of the Palais Royal itself appeared mean. "We found a superb palace, garnished with more than three hundred loads of rich furniture, profuse, and of incredible cost. Besides pictures of fabulous value, we found," says the Commissioner of the High Court,* "marble statues, jewelled clocks, tables of lapis lazuli inlaid with gold and mother of pearl, ebony cabinets ornamented with animals in gilt bronze, marble tables inlaid with precious stones representing flowers and birds, porphyry statues, tortoise-shell cabinets, one exquisite picture of the Holy Virgin, which made every one present exclaim that religion here lived only in art! A carved ivory bedstead, Turkey and Persian carpets, a marble statue of Charity, and a curious chair on springs, and sustained by pulleys, which was drawn up, we were told, through the ceiling to the chamber above and used by his Eminence." "Ah, Jules Mazarin, disturber of public tranquillity, disgusting Sybarite! Miserable Nimrod, thou confoundest thyself in a Babel of thine own! Rash Icarus, thou presumest to soar to the altitude of the Sun of Justice! Wretched Caligula the Little, thou wouldst imitate the thunder of Jupiter, but canst not disturb even a fly! Vile hypocrite and buffoon, words are not strong enough to express thy villany and thefts!" So raved some of the more erudite of Mazarin's aspersers. The caricaturists of the capital made similar pitiless assault: in their pictures "Dame Anne" was represented in the guise of a fat *poissarde,*

* Lettre d'un Religieux au Prince de Condé. Inventaire des merveilles du monde rencontrés dans le palais du Cardinal de Mazarin.

throwing her brawny arms round the waist of a lean shrunken figure clad in Cardinal's robes, whose head was buried in a hat of flame colour! Another caricature represented the Queen and her son on their knees, pale and starved, imploring alms from Mazarin, who sat, puffed up, fat and bloated, arrayed in his Cardinal's robes, stretching out his hand in the act of bestowing on his petitioners a crust of bread.* No infamy was then too odious to be believed, which attacked the reputations of the Queen, and Mazarin.

To create a diversion in the country, favourable to the popular cause in Paris, the Parliament wrote letters to the provincial Chambers, exhorting them to rise, and offering support and union. The Parliament of Rouen immediately closed with the proposal, at the solicitation of the Duc de Longueville. The Parliaments of Toulouse, and Bordeaux demurred, but demanded time for debate. The connections and allies of the great lords also, rose in their defence; the Prince d'Harcourt, son of M. d'Elbœuf, and governor of Montreuil—which place Monsieur had extorted from the Queen, to bestow so unworthily during the quarrel respecting La Rivière—declared for the Parliament. Rheims, Poitiers, Tours, seceded from *la cause Mazarinesque*. The Duc de la Trimouille, recruited for the parliamentary army throughout his vast domains: the Duc de Retz, brother of the Coadjutor,

* Mazarinade—Pierre Chevalier, Imprimeur a l'Olivier in 12°, ann. 1648. There was also a song published, sung to the air of "Thoinon la belle jardinière," the chorus of which was, "Si jamais dans Paris, Mazarin tu rentres, on te fera comme au Marquis d'Ancre!".

placed Belle Isle at the service of the Parliament; while the town of Le Mans rebelled, against the court, and hoisted on the summit of its cathedral, the blue flag and stars of the Parliament. Gondy, meantime, finding that his intrigues would flourish more prosperously if aided by the echo of his own voice in the Chamber, demanded admission as deputy of his uncle Gondy, Archbishop of Paris. Talon, Molé, Le Mêsmes, and all the presidents and members faithful in heart, and principle to the royal cause, resorted to every device, in order to exclude the Coadjutor; whose well-ascertained dealings with the Archduke aroused uncomfortable compunction. Nevertheless, escorted by Broussel, by M. d'Elbœuf, and other of the Generals, Gondy took almost forcible possession of his uncle's seat, after a discussion of an acrimonious character. The hilt of a poignard being perceived sticking from the Coadjutor's pocket, a burst of derisive laughter broke forth, mingled with shouts of *"Voilà le bréviaire de notre archevêque!"* This event occurred on the 18th of January; and on the same day the factious nobles met in the palace of the Duc de Bouillon, and signed a league, undertaking never to lay down arms but by mutual consent; and after each had obtained from the crown, or from the Parliament, the cession of his demands.* This league, becoming known to the Chamber, created the gravest uneasiness; and from that time a reaction occurred for the royal cause. The Parliament had steaadily resisted the mandate which

* Mém. d'Omer Talon, ann. 1649; Mém. de Retz; Journal du Parlement.

exiled its members from Paris to the small, and dull town of Montargis: but they discountenanced the treason, which dallied with a foreign power, and disowned the cause, and the influence of a band of nobles, whose design it was to usurp power; and who in reality fought to re-establish feudal despotism in all its ancient vigour. The lords, through the influence of the Coadjutor, the Duc de Beaufort, and their own liberalities, had bought the adherence of the masses of the populace: they used the bugbear Mazarin, to scare, and to infuriate the people, to serve their own ends. Fortunately for the crown, Gondy had a keen eye for his own individual interest: he used the disaffection of the lords so long as it suited his purpose; but his present enthusiasm for their cause was only surpassed by the savage promptitude with which he broke from their bonds, so soon as he saw that his own well-being separated him from their projects.

On the 24th of January the Duc de Beaufort attempted a *sortie*, to dislodge the royal troops from Corbeil. His troops, however, abandoned him at Juvisy, on learning that Condé in person was advancing to offer them combat. The following day another expedition was made to protect the advance of a convoy of corn. The prince, however, was before them, and carried off the spoil to the granaries of St. Germain; "so," says Madame de Motteville, "the only effect realised from this grand exploit was the gain of a general grand cold, which afflicted the soldiers of the expedition, as the weather remained bitterly cold."

Fresh outrages ensued on this repulse: Féron was mobbed and nearly lost his life, the people suspecting him to be a spy, and a reporter to St. Germain of their intended warlike expeditions. The Prince de Conty, during these transactions, led a tranquil life with his sister, Madame de Longueville, whose condition of health compelled her to moderate her enthusiasm. The Generalissimo of the Parliament confined his exploits to the toil of conducting the various skirmishing parties to the gate of the city, and of receiving the General on his return. On the 28th of January, Madame de Longueville gave birth to a son at the Hôtel de Ville: her recovery was rapid, despite the nuisance of her rat-haunted chamber; which the "several cats," which she had sent for from the Hôtel de Longueville, could not mitigate. The child was publicly baptised in the church of St. Jean en Grève. The Duchesse de Bouillon was its godmother, and the City of Paris its godfather. The child was named Charles Paris. The day was kept as a public festivity; the Prevôt des Marchands, and the Sheriffs of Paris walked in procession from the Hôtel de Ville, to the church, where Monseigneur the Coadjutor received the honourable company. A deputation of the Parliament also attended at the church. M. Broussel had previously been joyfully received by the duchess, when he appeared to congratulate her on her convalescence, and was honoured by two kisses from her lips. After the ceremony, the child, the godson and *protégé* of Paris, was exposed, lying in his cradle, on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. The

Dames des Halles advanced, and gazed reverentially and with admiration on the lovely infant, and laid bouquets of flowers on the quilt, which bore the blazon of Longueville. One person, a *mauvaise langue,* interrupted the harmony of the ceremony by exclaiming, that the chevrons of La Rochefoucauld should decorate the rich covering over the child, rather than the *fleurs-de-lis* of Longueville!* After this public exhibition the babe was conveyed in state to the Hôtel de Longueville, and committed to the care of experienced nurses; while its mother, "*la beauté micmaque de Hôtel de Ville,*" as the court lampooners termed the duchess, resumed her political *rôle* of guardian of the recalcitrant municipality of Paris.

The money raised by the first levy of taxes was now consumed, and a fresh demand became necessary. This new levy was not responded to with the same alacrity. The President de Novion, nevertheless, set an example of liberality by subscribing the sum of 50,000 livres. The princes talked magnificently but contributed meanly, with the exception of the Duc de Beaufort, who made donation of a considerable sum. The tax on houses was renewed; a levy which occasioned much murmuring and ill-will among the wealthier citizens, and middle-class men. Bread was rising; for Condé's foraging parties overtook, and appropriated many a substantial supply of provisions,

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives du Royaume; Hist. du Temps; Talon; La Rochefoucauld; Journal du Parlement—the most important of the many documents remaining to us of this stormy period.

and captured cattle even when close to the city gates. Commerce was of course extinct. Many of the larger mansions were closed; and people who once occupied handsome apartments, had migrated to smaller and poorer tenements, to the cost of the owners of the mansions. The perpetual drill and military parade wearied the citizens. The comic incidents of the soldiering of the League began to tell upon the minds of the graver citizens, who were ashamed of the ridicule attached to their exploits; and who deplored the destruction of many suits, often all bespattered with mire, and torn by brambles, during the vicissitudes of their flights, as members of *la garde bourgeoise*, whenever a soldier or two, wearing the King's uniform, was descried, on a *sortie* from the town. All domestic discipline also was at an end: servants and apprentices, emancipated from control by the frequent calls to arms, had grown insolent and refractory. The burgess class, therefore, turned many a repentant glance towards St. Germain; and gave eager support to that section of the Chamber headed by Mathieu Molé, who wished to accommodate matters before they fell into extremity, by the advance of the royal armies on the capital. Encouraged by this amended feeling, Talon at length ventured to propose in the Chamber, "That overtures should again be made to Queen Anne, praying her to dismiss Mazarin, to pardon the people of Paris, and to return with the King." Broussel rose in a fury, denounced the proposal as treasonable, and moreover a cowardly attack on "the Generals;" and so great was his violence that the motion was with-

drawn. Both parties, however, perceived that matters were at a dead lock, and that fresh spirit, and fresh resources, must be enlisted to bring affairs to solution by the sword. Monsieur, unhappy in his mind, and ever restless, was secretly tampered with by Molé, and by Madame de Longueville. The Parliament launched touching reproaches for his desertion; and offered him *carte blanche*, if he could bring back the King, and insure the recognition of the Articles de la Chambre St. Louis. The Frondeurs also coaxed Monsieur by the proposal of making him their Generalissimo, and eventually regent of the realm, in case he would throw himself into Paris. La Rivière was propitiated by the promise of a cardinal's hat, an honour M. de Conty would solicit for himself, and afterwards resign to the favourite. Monsieur, however, remained staunch to the royal cause, but offered his mediation. Jealousy of Condé, and fear of the sharp *surveillance* exercised by the Queen, restrained the duke within wholesome limits. Such was the temper of the Queen, that the duke felt persuaded she would have no scruple to order his arrest, on the merest suspicion of disloyal communications. He therefore thought it most prudent, on the whole, to inform her Majesty of these *menées*. The communication was not displeasing to the Queen, inasmuch as, she said, that it gave evidence of better feeling on the part of the inhabitants of Paris. Condé, however, declared himself violently incensed; and launching a fierce glance at Mazarin, said, "that if Monsieur, or M. le Cardinal began to negotiate a treaty, he would negotiate a

thousand; that he did not intend to be made the dupe of the court, and its scapegoat; that he desired to conquer the Parisians as cowards and bullies, and their fine Generals as factious reprobates, who could do nothing better than squabble!" * To relieve the exasperation of his mind, Condé resolved to attack Charenton. This place was of the last importance for the victualling of the city; and the Generals therefore, had garrisoned the town with 3,000 men, under the brave Marquis de Clanleu. Early on the morning of the 9th of February, Condé, at the head of 8,000 men, came down with a fierce swoop on the devoted garrison. In his army were all the men of valour collected at St. Germain. In a brief space the intrenchments of the enemy were taken, and the King's troops poured into the village, massacring, burning, and destroying. The Marquis de Clanleu fell at the head of his regiment, in a vain attempt to rally his troops. The dismay was inconceivable; the helpless levies of the Parliament were cut down mercilessly by Condé's savage soldiers; no mercy was shown—no quarter given. In one hour after the assault, not a single partisan of the Parliament remained alive at Charenton! His vengeance satiated, Condé "the Terrible" drew up his army on the heights of Charenton, and proudly waited for reprisals from the city.† A rumour that the King's troops meditated an attack on some of the outposts of the city, had occasioned a great stir in the capital.

* Mém. de Motteville, ann. 1649; La Rochefoucald, Mém. ann. 1649.

† Mém. de la Duchesse de Nemours; Guy Joly; De Retz; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin. Condé abandoned Charenton two days after the attack.

The night previously trumpets sounded to arms, and twenty thousand troops assembled, ready at dawn to pour out into the country between Paris, and St. Germain, to intercept, if possible, the royal army. The muster of the bands proceeded slowly; and although the order to march was given by the Prince de Conty, and the Duc d'Elbœuf at eleven p.m., the van of the parliamentary army, at eleven o'clock on the following morning had only reached Fécamp! "The two armies at length came face to face; but the army of the King having accomplished its errand, that of the Fronde had very little eagerness to attack, or courage to encounter the royal troops: the veriest scavenger in the King's army was a Cæsar, and an Alexander in comparison." The rear of the army of the Fronde was still comfortably parading the Place Royale, when its van arrived at the scene of conflict.

As Charenton was in ashes, and there was, therefore, nothing to be gained by attacking M. de Condé, the Duc d'Elbœuf convened a council of war, at Picpus, one of the suburbs of the city, when it was decided:—"Considering that the army of M. le Prince appears to consist of 11,000 men, and the question having been put to the vote, whether battle shall be offered to the said prince, it has been decided in the negative by a majority of votes, in order not to hazard the lives of the brave burgesses, and to cause their wives to wail; it being pronounced as quite impossible to attack the enemy without the defeat, and slaughter of at least the battalions in the van." M. d'Elbœuf, therefore, led his soldiers back to the city;

and Condé, with banners flying, marched back to St. Germain, to receive the thanks and compliments of the Queen for so notable an exploit.* Madame de Longueville, and the Coadjutor had done all in their power to excite the enthusiasm of the troops. The duchess, although scarcely convalescent, appeared on the Place Royale,† and distributed colours, and blue scarfs. Gondy showed himself equipped for the fight, with spurs, sword, and pistols at his saddle bow.‡ The Duc de Bouillon also appeared, and made a short harangue; nevertheless, the confusion and excitement of mind natural to peaceable citizens suddenly transformed into soldiers, and required to combat the greatest captain of the age, neutralized the effects of this demonstration. The only survivor from the massacre of Charenton was the young Marquis de Coignac, who, after seeing his regiment cut up, was precipitated into the river, but fortunately managing to scramble upon a large block of ice, was floated down the Seine into the city. The Marquis de Noirmoutier, however, during the panic, managed to despatch a detachment of 1000 men, in the direction of Etampes, to protect a great convoy of cattle, which had been there collecting for several weeks, for the

* Journal du Parlement, Mardi 9, Février; Mém. de la Duchesse de Nemours; Guy Joly; Vie MS. du Prince de Condé, Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F.

† It was reported that the Duchesse de Longueville had abandoned the city by the aid of Féron, Prevôt des Marchands; which caused such a tumult, that the duchess was obliged to appear on this occasion, although scarcely convalescent; while Féron was compelled to seek temporary shelter in a monastery.

‡ Guy Joly, Mém., p. 70.

victualling of Paris. The following day, M. de Beaufort sallied forth to meet, and aid Noirmoutier on his return, as he approached the dangerous vicinity of the capital. The helmet of M. de Beaufort was crowned by a flowing white *pavanche*—such as his valiant grandfather, Henri Quatre, had worn; and his appearance elicited shouts of approbation from the people. A guard of honour of *poissardes*, and Amazons of the lowest class assembled to escort him to the gates. "*Vive le petit-fils de Henri Quatre!*" resounded from all mouths. The women frantically kissed his hands and his feet, and touched his flowing locks, vowing to sally forth for his rescue *en masse*, if, "*les soldats de Pantalon Rouge*" had the audacity to molest him. In the plain of Villejuif, the Marshal de Grammont vigorously attacked Beaufort, and his detachment. Beaufort had his sword wrenched from his hand, and received a flesh wound in the arm. The Marshal de la Mothe, finding that his colleague was disabled and bleeding, sounded a retreat back towards the city. De Grammont, satisfied with this advantage, also withdrew. The rumour of this skirmish reached Paris, with exaggerated details. Beaufort's patronesses the fish-wives, raised the city with their outcries; and men, women, and children to the number of 30,000, armed with pikes, carbines, spits, pokers, brooms, and every imaginable weapon of defence, rushed wildly outside the gates of Paris, to aid and protect their duke. This motley rabble met Beaufort about a league from Paris, and signalled their joy at seeing him still sitting on his horse, by

shrill cheers. As M. de Beaufort continued to wait for the approach of Noirmoutier and his herds, the people also declined to return. After an interval, part of the convoy arrived safely, when the soldiers, officers, cattle, women, and children precipitated themselves back upon the gates of Paris, and entered pell-mell, much to the dismay, and consternation of the crowds, waiting the result of the *sortie* in the narrow streets adjacent.*

At St. Germain, meantime, the Queen led a secluded life, diversified by little amusement. Her hours of recreation were passed in her oratory, and in taking long drives through the forest glades of St. Germain. Reclining in silence on the cushions of her coach, and attended only by one lady, Madame de Beauvais, or Madame de la Flotte, Anne pursued her rambles often by moonlight. She seldom visited Madame, in the adjacent Château Neuf: Monsieur, however, was her frequent visitor, and the levity and *insouciance* of his character appeared to solace her spirit, and to restore some portion of her natural cheerfulness. To Condé she often granted audience, ever greeting him with flattering kindness. Anne gave him the appellation of "her third son;" and promised him unbounded influence in the realm, provided that he succeeded in re-establishing the royal power. To those who best knew the Queen, there appeared at times symptoms of extreme resentment in her mind towards Condé, when

* Journal du Parlement, ann. 1649; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives du Royaume.

the Prince sharply uttered some unpalatable truths, or addressed M. le Cardinal with the taunt of reproof, or contempt—which augured badly for the continuation of her favour. More and more the Queen became confirmed in her opinion, that her own power depended upon the maintenance of Mazarin as minister. Condé was insolent and wayward in the consciousness of his youth, high deeds, and popularity, and sought to secure his own aggrandizement, and not the King's might. The Duc d'Orleans was feeble, vain of his popularity with the Parliament, and not to be depended upon in a popular crisis. The proscriptions levied against Mazarin by the Parliaments of Rouen and Toulouse, in imitation of the celebrated decree of the 8th of January, passed by the Parisian Parliament, had deeply affected the Queen, and alarmed Mazarin. The Cardinal was now the Queen's constant companion, in the state cabinet, and closet. Anne always kept late hours, and far into the silent watches of the night their conferences extended. Mazarin soothed her distress; he supported her at those moments when her woman's spirit, brave as it was, quailed. He inspired into her mind prudent words, and counselled gracious actions. The greatest master of diplomacy which the world then knew, Mazarin perfected the political education of Anne of Austria; and how well, and how aptly she profited by his instructions Anne showed when, a few months later, deprived of his support, alone, with every faction arrayed against her, she saved the crown by her dexterity, and shrewdness. The night, therefore, often

passed, the Queen walking leisurely, at intervals, with Mazarin up and down *sa grande galerie*, that indispensable appendage, in those days, to a royal abode. Sometimes the guards of the ante-chamber were startled by the sudden appearance of their royal mistress, as she passed from her own apartments to that of the King. There Anne was more than once seen, after gazing intently for some minutes on the sleeping boy, to throw herself on her knees by the bed, to weep, to pray, and to caress her idolized son. Sometimes her presence awoke the boy, and Louis, passionately clinging to her neck, ordered his governor, with the imperious gesture which distinguished him from his earliest boyhood, to close the door which separated their apartments, as he desired to confer with the Queen, his mother. It was felt that the love evinced by the young Louis for his mother, was her strongest support. Whenever Condé, in the presence of the King, addressed urgent words to the Regent, or deviated even in trifling degree from the homage due to her, the haughty little face was observed to blacken, and Louis took early opportunity of inflicting some petty slight on the Prince; which, though laughed at then as a boyish *niche*, was not the less significant to the shrewder amongst the courtiers.

During his long conferences with the Queen at this period, Mazarin's endeavour was to prevail upon her to make concessions to the Parliament. The Cardinal showed that MM. de la Cour were less pernicious rebels than the princes, who had made pretext to

join their cause, in order to avenge their own. He commented on the influence of Molé, Le Mêsmes, of Omer Talon,—all in reality loyal at heart to the throne, and disquieted by the intrigues of the princes, though powerless to control such potent Generals. He averred that the citizens were weary of anarchy, of high and arbitrary taxation, of scarcity of food, and impatient of the rule of factious princes, and traitors of the Parliament, such as Broussel, Le Coigneux, and others: that the Parliament, humbled at its subordination to the Generals, waited only a gracious signal from St. Germain, with a promise which might hereafter be reconsidered, to accept again the articles of the Chambre St. Louis—to unite with the court for the overthrow of the rebel princes, and the castigation of the populace, which had been bribed to their cause. "If you persist, Madame, in your present designs, MM. de Paris can only resist your armies with M. le Prince at their head, by alliance with the Catholic King, to which the loyal portion of your Parliament will be driven by the threats of its demagogues. When M. de Condé prevails, as assuredly he will do in the end, your government, your person, and that of the King, myself, and all that you prize, will be at his mercy. The surrender of Paris to M. de Condé will create him Dictator of this realm, until his majesty, M. your son, has arrived at suitable years and maturity of judgment, to depose him therefrom. Meantime, what will have been your own fate? what my own?" The fear of a Spanish invasion was the only dread to which the mind of Anne was accessible; Mazarin worked

upon this weak point, and upon the feelings of intense irritation aroused by the mention of Condé's probable designs. The practices of the rebel lords in Paris disquieted the Queen; on her flight from Paris she had not calculated upon receiving such overt, and unanimous indications of their resentment. The concession of every privilege asked by the Parliament, Anne at length declared, would be less bitter to her, than to yield to the smallest demands of her former friends, Beaufort and Les Importants—men whom she had deliberately driven from power; and who had taken up arms to compel her to rescind her resolve, and to restore the vast feudal privileges of which they had been deprived by Richelieu. The choice, therefore, lay before the Queen, as expounded by Mazarin—of submitting to the possible dictatorship of M. de Condé during the remainder of the minority; of reconciling herself to Les Importants, the rebel lords, who, on the concession of their demands, would probably abandon the cause of the Parliament; or of consenting to a reconciliation with the Parliament (which Mazarin insidiously whispered need be in name only), by the which Paris would joyfully submit to the King. Any triumph purchased at the cost of the services of the Cardinal, in a mind pre-occupied as was that of the Queen with a conviction of Mazarin's merit and fidelity, was thereby transformed into the direst of dire calamities. The Queen, therefore, in her own mind concluded, that if by the temporary concession of the Articles de la Chambre St. Louis, the Parliament could be induced to abandon its proscrip-

tion of Mazarin, to reject all treaty with Spain, and to drive back the rebel lords, and their allies in the provinces, to their strongholds, and insignificance, the concession would indeed be light and desirable. The fidelity of the army of mercenaries under Turenne, brother of the Duc de Bouillon, was an important step in Mazarin's project. The despair and consternation of the lords, on the very first suspicion of the intended reconciliation of Anne with the loyal, and more aristocratic members of the High Court would prompt them to desperate action. Turenne's army, supposing it to be bought over to the popular cause, would hold the loyal citizens in check; perhaps, even enable the lords to dissolve the Chamber, and imprison the members, a repetition of the incendiary violence of Bussy Le Clerc, in the palmy days of the Holy League. M. de Turenne himself, the Cardinal had been privately informed, had been much shaken in his allegiance by the solicitations of his brother and feudal chief, Bouillon. Incomparable in foresight and decision, as he was crafty in action, Mazarin sent the large sum of 800,000 livres to one M. d'Erlach, a colonel of mercenaries under Turenne, for distribution amongst his troops. D'Erlach, who had some personal cause of offence against his general, was further commanded by a missive signed by the Queen, to arrest M. de Turenne on the very first symptom of disaffection, or of intended tampering with the loyalty of the troops under his command. Money was sent for profuse distribution to the Count d'Harcourt, the King's general in Normandy, who was instructed on the first

favourable opportunity to arrest M. de Longueville, and convey him to the fortress of Hâvre de Grâce. The clever pen of Mazarin also aided in the perfecting of his designs:—lampoons, songs as witty, and more decent than the famous Mazarinades, were composed by him:—a letter, admirable in its subtle hits, was addressed anonymously to the "Miserable citizens of Paris:"—other satires were contributed by de Grammont, Beringhen, and the Chevalier de la Valette,—and to the latter, was intrusted the difficult task of circulating them in Paris. La Valette, eager to serve the Queen, took to horse, and boldly rode to the gates of the capital, asking to be allowed a conference with M. de Conty. The name of La Valette effected marvels; to gain a kinsman of Epernon was thought to be well worth the hazard of admitting a probable emissary from St. Germain. La Valette, therefore, as he rode to the Hôtel de Ville, showered his placards and papers on the streets and into the shops, and by the time he arrived at his destination his stock had been distributed. Several of these papers were hastily carried to M. de la Boullaye, who immediately set about the arrest of the "infamous spy" sent by Le Mazarin. La Valette was seized, and conveyed to the Bastille before he had even seen M. de Conty, who had gone to the Louvre to pay his respects to Queen Henrietta Maria. All manner of reports were purposely circulated: La Valette was said to have entered Paris intent on the assassination of Gondy, of M. de Conty, and of M. de Beaufort; all which deeds were to be accomplished on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, as

these noblemen left the apartments of Madame de Longueville.*

Early the following morning, February 12th, before the members of the High Court had taken their seats, and were loitering in converse on the affairs of La Valette, a messenger rushed breathlessly to announce that a herald from the King with tabard, staff, and shield emblazoned with the *fleurs-de-lis*, was at the Porte St. Honoré, demanding admission to deliver letters from the King, addressed to MM. de la Ville, to M. de Conty, and to the High Court of Parliament. A hurried consultation ensued: the crisis was delicate—for how could the members refuse to receive a herald sent by their King? a concession, which would have been made even by the most deadly foreign foe of Louis Quatorze. A messenger was despatched by the High Court to seek out the generals, and to pray them instantly to adjourn to the Chamber. Meantime the friends of the King spoke out vehemently; while the factious section of the House began to agitate, and to menace. Gondy sat apart in deep meditation, his subtle spirit weaving fresh traps whereby to defeat the evident desire of the court for conference. This *rapprochement* from St. Germain, following as it did the proposition of Talon, and of M. de Brillac to renew negotiations, seemed to him fraught almost with the ruin of the cause which

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville. The pamphlets distributed by La Valette were ably written: one commenced—"Pauvre peuple de Paris, que je plains ta simplicité, et ton aveuglement!" This was supposed to emanate from the pen of Mazarin. The second pamphlet was addressed, "A QUI AIME LA VÉRITÉ," and is signed "Le Désintéressé à Paris."

he had espoused, suspicious, and tantamount to a declaration of desertion on behalf of the Parliament. A bright inspiration, however, suddenly shot across his gloomy anticipations. Gondy rose, and seizing old Broussel, "the King of the Parliament," by the hand, dragged him apart. Imploring him to avert dangerous *pourparler* with the court, by opining for the dismissal of the herald, the Coadjutor exclaimed—"Say, Monsieur, say that heralds being sent only to rebels, or to sovereign princes, you adjure the High Court to refuse either of these positions. The trick is a subtle one, forged by le Mazarin, who desires nothing better than to brand us all as traitors!" Broussel applauded; and entering the Chamber, where all the members were now assembled, he opened the deliberations in virtue of seniority, and opined as he had been prompted. Loud shouts and cheers, interrupted his speech. Blancménil, Le Coigneux, Charton, and others, greeted the speaker, as one endowed with oracular inspiration. Molé quietly rose, and agreeing to the necessity of dismissing a herald sent under such embarrassing circumstances, proposed, as an amendment, "that M. Talon, and the King's officers, should, nevertheless, be deputed to proceed to St. Germain to inform the Queen, that out of respect for the royal power, and not desiring to accept the name of rebels, they had declined to admit the herald." This proposal, despite the efforts of Gondy and the generals, was carried by an immense majority; and Talon was deputed to confer with the herald, and to apply for a safe-conduct to visit St. Germain. Conty,

and the authorities of the Hôtel de Ville, presently declared also, that they abided by the decision of the Parliament; and declined to see the royal envoy, or to receive his letters. Talon thus empowered to open conferences with the court, acted like a good, and prudent servant of the crown. In concert with his colleague Bignon, he wrote letters to the Chancellor, and to the secretary of state Le Tellier, asking for safe-conduct, as a King's officer, to confer with the privy council. The intrigues of the princes were such as to sadden and alarm all honest men; while the excesses of the English Parliament, and the violence done to the person of King Charles, from the pressure exercised by Cromwell's ferocious soldiery, inspired the members with dread of being borne by the rebel lords to the brink of a similar precipice. Anne being now in gracious mood, and tolerably resigned to the Cardinal's policy, granted the audience. Talon and his colleagues were met at St. Cloud by the Marshal de Grammont, with fifty cavaliers, who escorted them to the house of M. Le Tellier, from whence the coach of the Chancellor Séguier conveyed them to St. Germain.* There, contrary to their former reception, a bright fire and plentiful meal revived their spirits. The deputies then ventured into the dread presence of Queen Anne. Her Majesty received the deputies in her private cabinet, with none of the accustomed parade of royalty. Talon was suffered to kiss her hand; and his address was listened to with flattering attention, both

* Relation de M. Omer Talon, Avocat-Général.

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by the Queen and by her council, which sat in an adjoining room, the door of which was open. Talon said, "that on the preceding day a herald had demanded a parley at the gates of Paris; that this strange proceeding had greatly disquieted Messieurs de la Cour; but that they had judged her Majesty had subjected them to a trial of their loyalty; that they were the subjects of the King—faithful men and true—who desired to assure her Majesty of their submission, and loyalty." Smiles played around the Queen's lips. Talon's speech pleased her; and she was minded that the deputies should be aware of her satisfaction. She, therefore, herself answered in most gracious tones—"Messieurs, the King my son, and myself, receive with the utmost pleasure, these assurances from the Parliament. Our satisfaction will be perfected when the Parliament shall show its loyalty by deed, as well as by words. In my heart, Messieurs, I have never doubted the goodwill and fidelity of the august companies." Anne was then pleased to converse familiarly with Talon, and asked many particulars relative to the condition of Paris, laughing heartily at some of his descriptions. Talon taking heart, ventured then to suggest that "she should not so rigorously starve her loyal citizens." Anne replied—"Let us see what the Parliament will do: they have but to obey and honour the King to obtain my pardon, with oblivion." The Queen also spoke to Condé in the presence of Talon, whose half grudging assent to the despatch of the herald had been given under the strong pressure of Mazarin's arguments,

appealing to his vanity to join in setting the last seal to the glorious work he had achieved, by the pacification of Europe.* The deputation was next received by Monsieur at the Château Neuf, who made many little promises, and said comforting words, which he desired Talon to report to the Chamber. Talon was also able to ascertain the contents of the letters sent by the herald; and which had been left by him at the Porte St. Honoré, and subsequently, by order of the Chamber, deposited sealed in the registry of the Parliament. In the missive addressed to the Parliament, Anne had assured the members of oblivion, and complete amnesty, provided that they consented to show respect to the royal authority by departing for Montargis; from whence, pledging her royal word, she promised, on the following day, to recall them to Paris, and restore them to her royal favour. M. de Conty was addressed more severely; he was peremptorily ordered to leave Paris forthwith, under pain of incurring the penalties of high treason. To MM. de la Ville, Anne put forth more suavity, as Féron, the Provost, was her faithful subject and ally. The Queen reproached the municipality for its lax loyalty; but offered to restore its forfeited charters with her royal grace, if the counsellors quitted a city "infected with

* Relation de M. l'Avocat-Général Talon; Registres du Parlement; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives du Royaume. Many of these documents are cut, and blotted, and erased—the act of Louis XIV., who for years afterwards actually trembled with rage, whenever the rebellion of La Fronde was mentioned in his presence. One of his commands occasioned the obliteration from the archives of the Hôtel de Ville of the most obnoxious municipal acts of the period.

pestilent treason," or drove forth the rebels. The relation of the Queen's *bienveillance* was listened to with pleasure by the Chamber; and Anne's soft and politic answer did more to confound the King's rebels in Paris, than any military triumph of her arms.

Gondy, during the absence of Talon at St. Germain, had been busied in perfecting a plot which he hoped might suspend, and perhaps neutralise the yearning for peace, so unequivocally shown by the more respectable portion of the inhabitants of Paris. The jealousy of M. de la Rochefoucauld had cooled his relations with the Duchesse de Longueville, whose position at the Hôtel de Ville had now become intolerably irksome. In vain she visited the sections of the capital, and caused pictures of herself drawn as Pallas to be distributed. The populace liked a heroine such as the Duchesse de Montpensier in the days of the Great League—a woman who recoiled at nothing, bold, shameless, and vigorous. La petite Genéviève, as the duchess was called by the Amazons of the capital, with her delicate features, small stature, and languid airs, found that the rôle of Queen of the Fronde was beyond her power; and she collapsed, when no longer sustained by the Coadjutor, into comparative oblivion. The Duchesse de Montbazon was now more *à la mode* under the patronage of M. de Beaufort, who paid her intense homage, and as it was reported, reverential, and very proper in its limit. Finding that the city was becoming weekly more pressed by famine and discontent, the Coadjutor resolved, by a bold stroke of defiance, to compel the court to attend to the demands of the

princes. Soon after the blockade of the city, Gondy, through MM. de St. Ibal, and Montrésor, and Madame de Chevreuse, had commenced his negotiations with Spain. After the attack on Charenton, by the royal troops, he wrote, to inform the Archduke that now was the time to offer succour to Paris; and that if his Imperial Highness would send an envoy with letters of credence to the Duc d'Elbœuf, much might result from the experiment. The Archduke, therefore, immediately despatched one Arnolphini, a subtle Cistercian monk, whom he had instructed to assume the dress of a cavalier, and to take the name of Don Joseph de Illescas. This false Don Joseph was intrusted with a letter to the Duc d'Elbœuf, and with a number of blank forms, signed by the Archduke, and which he was to deliver to the Coadjutor, and to the Duc de Bouillon. He arrived in Paris, and had his first conference with Elbœuf on the day when Talon left Paris for St. Germain. Elate with this important secret, and believing that his Catholic Majesty had been pleased solely to confide in him, M. d'Elbœuf, as the members quitted the Palais, invited the principal Frondeurs, with the Coadjutor and the Duc de Bouillon, to a private conference at his hôtel. There he purposely unfolded his secret, to the intense amusement of Gondy, and presented the letters written by the Archduke, and signed *votre très affectionné, Guillaume Léopold.* The hoary plotters of the Parliament, Le Coigneux, Blancménil, and Charton, applauded, and declared that their colleagues, *bon grè mal grè*, must be persuaded, or entrapped for the public good, to

accept the proposals of Spain, and, moreover, to give audience to the envoy. As no letter to the Parliament existed from the Archduke, Gondy privately undertook to fabricate one, by means of the blank signatures; and to instruct Don Joseph in what he ought to say, in case the High Court consented to receive his message. The Archduke's envoy had received instructions to hold himself at the service of the Duc and Duchesse de Bouillon, and of the Coadjutor, who was rightly supposed to rule the *canaille* of the sections. He was to promise the aid of Spanish armies and subsidies, provided that the treaty was signed either by the Parliament, or by Gondy and the principal Frondeurs, his allies—the sign-manual of M. de Gondy, however, being indispensable. The Archduke proceeded cautiously: he distrusted the alleged good-will of the Presidents Molé, de Bellièvre, and de Mêsmes, the most influential members of the High Court. The supineness of M. de Bouillon, who seemed to wish for revolution, without incurring any risk whatever, alarmed him. Gondy was the only active, and, at the same time, reliable member of la Fronde—and shrank not from boastful promises, and from befooling the Archduke to the top of his bent, provided that his own interests were served. The Coadjutor, skilled in chicane and mendacity, spared no available resource to insure the success of this last grand act of hostility against the authority of Anne of Austria. Nevertheless, in case of failure, Gondy did not intend to follow the foolish persistence of men less subtle, and more enthusiastic.

"The glory of wisdom is to know when to yield: fools and idiots only dispute and rebel, when they know any fact or any assertion to be incontestable," is one of the wisest maxims of the Coadjutor de Gondy.

Talon and *les gens du Roi* were relating to the members the urbane reception vouchsafed to them by Anne of Austria, and the amicable speeches made by her, when, as the Company were about to debate thereon, the Prince de Conty rose, and innocently announced to the High Court, that an ambassador had arrived on the preceding day from the Archduke Leopold, and demanded audience. Conty added, that the envoy had a letter to present on behalf of his Highness; who having been solicited by the Cardinal de Mazarin to conclude an armistice between the two crowns—his Eminence offering to restore to his Catholic Majesty all the conquests of France made during the past campaigns, in order, as he divined, the better to oppress the Company, and the Parisians—the said Archduke, therefore, had not chosen to conclude peace without first appealing to the Parliament to gain its sanction to treat with a minister, whom it had condemned, and "banished from the realm." M. d'Elbœuf stood up to confirm the words of the Prince; but prudently added, "that in the presence of the Generalissimo, he declined to express any opinion on the subject." The duke, endowed with a good deal of natural cunning, thus escaped the pitfall prepared by his friends; who desired to make him accept the onus of having recommended the envoy, and his mission. The proposal to admit and listen to an envoy

of Spain created extraordinary dismay. Aghast at the fulfilment of their most dread anticipations, Molé and the President de Mêsmes started from their seats—"What, Monseigneur," exclaimed de Mêsmes, in a burst of passionate eloquence, "can it be that you, a prince of the blood, propose to give audience, sitting under the *fleur-de-lis*, to the deputy of the most cruel enemy of the *fleurs-de-lis!* Messieurs, the fact inspires anguish, remorse, and shame, that any member of the time-honoured Parliament of Paris should be asked to abet and promote treason of the blackest dye! And you, M. the Coadjutor, you call yourself the servant of the King—you, who gave a vote of exclusion against the herald sent by your King under the most frivolous of excuses ——." Gondy slowly rose, and speaking with measured irony of tone, interposed, saying—"You will excuse me, Monsieur, when I declare that I consider nothing as frivolous which has been consecrated by the sanction of this House." Cheers from the young counsellors, led by M. Quatresous, drowned the voices of the most honourable of the members. Talon, in vain sought to raise his sonorous voice above the clamour, asserting that the Queen, of her own favour, would give bread to the city; and that there was no need of the aid of his Catholic Majesty. Overpowered by the hubbub, the Chamber at length consented to hear the mission of Don Joseph de Illescas, reserving "to itself all ulterior proceedings."

This individual, therefore, was led forward, and after saluting the House, he presented a credential, signed by the Archduke, but which in reality had been forged

by the Coadjutor. After some preliminaries, the envoy, standing forwards so as to be heard by all, said, "that for two years Christendom had anxiously looked for peace, which had not been concluded, owing to the intrigues of Cardinal Mazarin, who had refused all proposals, even those most advantageous to France. Since the departure of the King from Paris, the Cardinal, however, had shown himself desirous of peace, and ready to accept every demand made by Spain; his object being, to control Paris, to effect which he had even requested the aid of the Archduke, on the plea that this revolt was the cause of all crowned heads, whose interest it was to subdue popular rebellion. Nevertheless, the Catholic King had not thought good to aid in the oppression of so honourable, and august a Company, in whom resided the legitimate authority of the Christian King; but would willingly submit to the judgment of Parliament, inasmuch as any treaty of peace, to be valid, must obtain its sanction. His Majesty, therefore, requested the Parliament to name a town, and to select deputies to conclude an equitable and holy peace. "If, Messieurs, you prefer Paris, his Catholic Majesty will here send his plenipotentiaries. His Catholic Majesty is well informed that there are only two hundred men in Péronne, and as many in St. Quentin, but still fewer in the garrison of Catêlet:— nevertheless, the King promises not to attack these places, but, on the contrary, is quite ready to despatch an army of eighteen or twenty thousand men to the aid of the Parliament, if the Company chooses to avail itself of such cordial help." A deep silence fell on the

Assembly after this address, broken at length by a command given by Molé, to conduct the envoy from the Chamber. "I felt ashamed, guilty, and conscience stricken, that my ears should have heard such an address, sitting, as I did, in that house, and in my capacity of Attorney-General!" writes Talon. The first President, without comment, briefly proposed—"That information should be given to the King, and to the Queen Regent, of the arrival of an envoy from the Archduke, by a deputation from the Chamber; moreover, that the letters of the said Archduke, and a copy of the proposals made by the envoy shall be sent to the King, the which, out of respect to the royal majesty, Parliament had not made reply to, nor even presumed to deliberate upon, until the King had signified his will." The mission was intrusted, with great ceremony, to Molé, to the President de Mêsmes, the steady friend of the royal cause, the energetic Talon, M. Bignon, and the remainder of *les gens du Roi*. The deputation occupied seven coaches, and left Paris during the afternoon of the 24th of February.

The decided and independent action of the Parliament of Paris, filled the lawless crew of rebel lords with dismay, and despair. The Duc de Bouillon, roused from his apathy, began to intrigue in good earnest. Don Joseph de Illescas was despatched at midnight back to Brussels, with letters from the generals to the Archduke, accepting the succour he offered; and giving hope that a good and strong treaty might eventually be negotiated. Gondy, however, to the amazement, and chagrin of Bouillon, declined to

address any letter to the Archduke. The same night the Coadjutor attended a conference, at which only the Duc and Duchesse de Bouillon were present. The determined attitude of the Parliament, the applause which some few days previously had been given to the motion of Talon, and the reactionary proceedings at the Hôtel de Ville, where the Presidents Féron, and Aubéry swayed the minor authorities at will, had caused M. de Gondy to reflect; for he by no means coveted the honours of political martyrdom, and took ample care that his treasonable intrigues should not stand out more prominently than the misdeeds of his colleagues, so as to tempt Anne of Austria to exclude him from any future amnesty. M. de Bouillon was gloomy and saturnine; the duchess was bathed in tears, though she professed herself charmed at the successful *début* of the envoy in the Parliament. "A peace concluded without our participation," said Bouillon, "will place us all at the mercy of the Queen; and will ruin our hopes, just at the moment when we have a right to expect armed succour from the Ducs de Longueville, and de la Trimouille. Monsieur, we must arrest and frustrate the designs of the Parliament; the method is easy, if you and M. de Beaufort will use your influence over the people. At any price, we must make ourselves masters of the Parliament: the exile of ten or twelve presidents, our most inveterate adversaries, will suffice; the Parliament thus purged, will be docile and amenable to the projects, and desires of its generals." The duke then proposed the signature of a private treaty with Spain;

and that the Coadjutor, and M. de Beaufort should, without delay, kindle an insurrection in Paris, during which the generals might surround the Palais with troops, and arrest every member hostile to their confederation. The dark, eager eyes of Bouillon glowed, as he fixed them earnestly on Gondy. "True, Monsieur," at length slowly replied the Coadjutor, "our condition at this moment in Paris is, that the Parliament inclines to peace—a peace insecure and shameful—while we could to-morrow, if we chose, cause the populace to rise; but ought we so to will? If we destroy the authority of Parliament, our own power will soon share the same fate, when the time arrives when we shall be compelled to ask that which the Parliament now exacts. Are there many people in this city who have made the sacrifices which we have done, we, who have sent all our silver-plate, and valuables to the mint?. If we supersede the Parliament, we also shall be compelled to raise taxes, and to decree levies of men, and soon we shall fall into the same odium with the populace. It is true, if we belonged to the dregs of the people we might imitate Bussy Le Clerc—that is to say, we might imprison, and pillage, and massacre the members of the High Court; we might even treat our enemies as the Seize treated the President de Brisson, if we wish to be the slaves of Spain, like the Seize were.* M. de Beaufort is the grandson of Henri Quatre: I am Coadjutor of Paris—to raise an insurrection, therefore, would be neither

* See Freer's Life of Henry III. King of France, vol. iii.

honourable to us, nor profitable!" "You tell us of impossibilities, and obstacles which you had much better have considered before you introduced the envoy of the Archduke to the Parliament!" angrily retorted Madame de Bouillon. Her husband, however, signed to her to be silent; and requested Gondy to give him a written statement of his opinion on the crisis. Gondy complied on the instant, saying with his usual insinuating smile, "Madame, *tout avec le Parlement: rien sans lui!* I have no ambition to become the almoner of M. de Fuensaldaña in Brussels." Whilst Gondy wrote, an animated conference proceeded between M. and Madame de Bouillon, apart. When the Coadjutor had finished, and read aloud his memorial, in which, amongst present suggestions to diminish the famine which threatened the town, he proposed that the army of the Fronde should encamp without Paris, Madame de Bouillon clapped her hands, and exclaimed vehemently, "I am going to confide to you a secret, which you must promise to keep sacredly. You are becoming cold, this will warm you! M. de Turenne writes to us that he is on the point of declaring for the Parliament, against Le Mazarin! Two colonels only of his army oppose his projects! In eight days he will march upon Paris!" "What do you now say?" eagerly asked Bouillon. "Are we not masters of the court, the people, and the Parliament?" "I will repay your confidence," replied Gondy. "I have just seen a letter from M. d'Hocquincourt, governor of Péronne, addressed to Madame de Montbazon, in which he declares, '*Péronne est à la belle des belles!*'"

Without entering into Madame de Bouillon's ecstacies, Gondy pronounced the news to be grand, marvellous, and joyful; nevertheless, when again pressed to engage positively with the Archduke, and to attach his signature to a treaty of alliance, he excused himself until M. de Turenne should be at the gates of Paris; or the Parliament willing to accept Spain as its ally.

Conty and his sister, meanwhile, at the Hôtel de Ville, had there the mortification to witness the joy inspired by the solemn deputation sent to St. Germain. Frightened at the lawless outrages of the multitude, Conty seldom showed himself in public. M. de Beaufort was devoted to Madame de Montbazon; the position, therefore, of the duchess de Longueville became almost insupportable in its loneliness when M. de la Rochefoucauld, severely wounded in the throat while protecting the advance of a convoy under the indefatigable Marquis de Noirmoutier, became for a long season incapacitated for public affairs. In the halcyon days of their *liaison*, M. de la Rochefoucauld applied to the duchess the verse of the poet Duryer:—

> "Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
> J'ai fait la guerre aux Rois, je l'aurois faite aux Dieux." *

Now, distracted with grief at the accident which had befallen her hero, Madame de Longueville demanded permission to leave the Hôtel de Ville for her own home; which boon was granted with high satisfaction by the ungrateful municipality which she had so long honoured as a guest.

* From the tragedy d'Alcyonée, by Duryer.

About this time, Madame de Motteville obtained permission to rejoin her royal mistress at St. Germain, who greatly desired her presence. The most terrible of mundane afflictions had fallen on the devoted head of Madame de Motteville's protectress, the unfortunate Henrietta Maria. The intelligence of the execution of Charles I. was communicated to her on the 19th of the month. In her dreary lodging at the Louvre, Henrietta had worn her heart out in miserable suspense within the besieged city, tormented by the shouts of a brutal populace, and by the sounds of warfare which recalled recollections of exquisite anguish. Madame de Motteville went to take leave of the afflicted Queen, and return thanks for the protection which she had given. Henrietta was in bed, pale and despairing; according to etiquette, daylight was excluded from the apartment, around which a few tapers dismally glimmered. On seeing Madame de Motteville, Henrietta stretched out her hand, and drawing her close, gave her an emphatic message to deliver to Queen Anne. "Tell her Majesty," said she, "in what miserable condition you leave me. Say to her, that the death of the King my lord, which renders me evermore the most wretched woman in existence, befell him because he never heard the truth; therefore I counsel her not to irritate her people, unless she is positive of possessing power to subjugate them. Tell her Majesty that the people, when roused, is like a ferocious beast, which can never be tamed, as my poor lord the King, experienced. I pray that the Queen may have greater prosperity than I found in England;

but above all things, adjure her to listen to the truth, and to labour to extract it. If you, madame, love the Queen, you will tell her these things, and faithfully repeat my words. Speak to her Majesty openly and truly: it is the greatest service that you can render to her! Ah, madame, tell the Queen that I have lost my King, my husband, my most tender friend!" Tears choked the utterance of the unhappy princess, and Madame de Motteville quitted the Louvre, deeply moved, and resolved to obey the counsel given to her.

Madame de Motteville found her mistress in good health, and surrounded by a splendid court. "While I remained in Paris," relates she, "I dreamed that the Queen was menaced with the loss of her crown, or at the very least with deposition from the Regency. At St. Germain, however, I discovered that nobody feared; and I heard nothing but mocking railleries and banter." At night the Queen and her friend held long conference, and Madame de Motteville related her adventures while in Paris. Anne confided to her that she believed herself more than ever called upon to uphold her minister, lest, yielding to popular clamour, the same thing might happen to her as to the King of England: that, seeing her without a minister, the princes would contend to provide her with one; she therefore was resolved to support M. de Mazarin, being satisfied with his fidelity, and being persuaded that in sustaining him, she was building up again the royal power; that his presence was indifferent to her, as Madame de Motteville well knew, except that she hoped he would serve the King, and maintain her

Regency. "Her Majesty seemed to me to be affected by the mission of the envoy of the Archduke, of which she did not then know the fraud." Anne listened with much emotion to the message of Queen Henrietta, and said, after a long pause, "that the catastrophe of the death of King Charles was a blow which ought to make all princes tremble; but that, as for herself, knowing that she was doing only what she was obliged to do, and could not avoid, her mind was tranquil in the midst of the storms with which she was beset." "And indeed," adds Madame de Motteville, "such was the balance of her mind, and her perfect self-possession, that she presided in the circle of her court with as much composure as if she had been installed in Paris."

The exhortation of Queen Henrietta, a princess who had tasted bitter tribulation, and had experienced the horrors of successful revolt, paved the way for the reception of the envoys of the Parliament, who arrived at St. Germain on the 25th of February, and were admitted to audience. The Queen, however, was short, and the reverse of affable, though glad, as she condescended to say, to see her old friend Molé. The President made an affecting speech, and declared that if the Queen desired that the Company should confess itself guilty, though innocent, such was the respect the members bore the King that they were disposed so to do. He then proceeded to comment on the mission of the Archduke's envoy, adding, "that they had brought his credentials to her Majesty, and that the High Court intended to reply as she should dictate." "If you had followed the counsel of those who advised

that this said deputy should not be heard, you would have done better," remarked her Majesty. "We heard him, Madame, to lay the intentions of the Archduke before you, and to wait your commands," said Molé. "The Chancellor is ill: I will send you my answer by one of my secretaries," said the Queen ;* and turning on her heel, Anne sailed from the apartment.

That same evening the two Presidents asked private audience of the Duc d'Orléans, of M. le Prince, and of Mazarin. Molé, eloquent and patriotic, then represented to the duke, that the supreme moment for weal or for woe had arrived; that the realm trembled on the verge of civil war; and that if affairs were pushed to extremity, that the city would accept the overtures of the Archduke; that certain members of the Parliament had threatened to vote for the suspension of the Regency of the Queen, and some other members had proposed to follow the unhappy example of England, and to proclaim that sovereign power resided alone in the Parliament; that famine menaced the city. He, therefore, implored the Queen, for the love of her people, and in justice and mercy, to open one route at least for the victualling of Paris. Monsieur replied, "that obedience to the King would open all the avenues leading to the capital. Let the Parliament adjourn to Montargis, and pardon and plenty would overflow." Molé replied, that the Parliament would not accept the disgrace of banishment: moreover, that their departure would controvert the famous Declara-

* Aubéry, Hist. du Card. Mazarin, t. i., ann. 1649; Talon, Mémoires.

tion. Monsieur and the Prince de Condé thereupon coldly wished good night to the Presidents, and retired. Mazarin stayed behind to assure the members that he should advise the Queen to receive their overtures; and would then depart to intercede, that by the partial raising of the blockade, famine might be averted. "It is well, Monsieur," replied Molé; "the people have cried for liberty, and even the word Republic has been uttered; we are all the devoted, and loving servants of the King. The dread example of England may well make both King and people reflect!" The Cardinal was sincere, and Molé's words and manner made great impression upon his mind. Anne, however, was not so convinced of the urgency of the crisis: she had made concession at the counsel of Mazarin, but she was not prepared to withdraw her ultimatum—which was, that the High Court should renounce all future right to meddle in state affairs, and that it should withdraw to Montargis—even for the space of one day only. Condé, however, had likewise reflected: a Spanish invasion seemed imminent unless concord could be restored; war was breaking forth throughout the kingdom; few taxes were remitted to the royal exchequer; the great armies on foot during the recent war were disbanded, or disaffected. Under all these manifold obstacles, the Prince perceived that not all his genius, or the *prestige* of his past glorious victories could rescue the crown. He had now done enough, as he believed, to command the gratitude of the Queen and the deference of her minister; the future would probably unfold fresh oppor-

tunities, and fresh conjunctures which he might use to annihilate the remnant of La Fronde. These considerations induced Condé to join with Mazarin in advising the Queen to measures of conciliation: even if her Majesty now consented to treat, the risk, he said, was great to the two courageous Presidents, as the lawless power of the lords was in the ascendant in Paris. A spirit, however, glowed in the bosom of the Queen which no reverses could quell. "Ah!" replied she, moodily, to these representations, "I find many people who ask me to make peace and to pardon; but not one loyal subject do I find who exhorts me to uphold the royal authority. The sceptre of my son shall not fade in its splendour and power, while I hold it!" So saying, Anne abruptly quitted the apartment. In the silence and solitude of the night, the restless brain of the Queen still worked, and still wrestled. About three in the morning she dispatched a messenger to the Château Neuf to summon Monsieur, who rose from his bed and obeyed, in very mutinous temper. Guénégaud was also aroused by her command to send her the document which he had drawn up under her dictation, as her answer to the address of the Parliament. Anne, declaring that she found nothing to withdraw in that her answer, gave it to Monsieur, directing him at daybreak to deliver it in person, accompanied by M. de Condé, to Molé, and his colleague, M. de Mêsmes. She added, however, one of those little gracious speeches which had ever endeared her personally to individuals, even to those who most opposed her arbitrary notions. "Tell M.

Molé," said Anne, "that I grieve to treat an old friend, and loyal subject, with such apparent harsh neglect. Let M. Molé, however, ask the King for some personal favour, and see if he does not obtain it!"

With a murmur of sorrow not to be controlled, and even with tears, the patriotic Molé perused the royal answer. Its tone was acrimonious, and its reproach bitter for the crime of having admitted the envoy of a hostile power to audience. The Queen stated her belief that, as far as this envoy was concerned, the princes had imposed upon the credulity of the magistrates, who were not supposed, from the past nature of their pursuits, to be keen statesmen, or diplomatists. She concluded by offering pardon, and amnesty, to every person who, by the 6th of the following month should have repaired to St. Germain to serve the King.* Not a word was said of conference, or of mercy, by conceding a temporary raising of the blockade, to allow provisions to flow into the half-starved city, wherein famine must rage in the small space of a week, unless grace was granted. Molé, eloquent in his earnest desire to promote the welfare of the crown, again appealed to the princes, and implored them to make another effort to bend the inflexible will of Anne of Austria, by proposing that a conference, with a view to the signature of peace, should be immediately convoked: meantime, that the Queen should

* Mém. de Talon, t. ii.; Aubéry, Hist. du Mazarin; Registres du Parlement de Paris.

permit provisions to enter the city—"for without this grace, Monseigneur, we cannot possibly return—it would be the yielding of the realm to invasion." Monsieur and M. de Condé, therefore, again repaired to St. Germain, and found the Queen about to attend mass. She returned, however, to her closet, and sent for Mazarin. After much debate, and many angry speeches from all the august persons assembled, the Queen's assent was at last torn from her: she accepted the conference, provided the proposition was well received by the Parliament, and deputies were forthwith nominated, who were to be invested with full power to sign a treaty of peace. Such being done and settled, she consented that one passage should be opened for the victualling of Paris.* Anne, taking Monsieur aside, however, added this further injunction for the private ear of Molé—that if reservation was made by the High Court respecting the exile of M. de Mazarin, she beforehand declined all negotiation; "for," said she, "a deputation in that case would be lost labour, as I will not permit the Parliament to drive from my council a minister whom I esteem, and value—a minister chosen by the deceased King; a minister in whom I and the princes of the blood have placed implicit confidence!"†

The glad tidings of any concession were no sooner communicated to Molé and his colleagues, than they immediately set out for Paris, dreading further reser-

* Aubéry, Gualdo, Guy Joly, Talon, De Retz, Registres du Parlement de Paris.

† Mém. d'Omer Talon, ann. 1649.

vations. At the gates of the town the Presidents were received with hootings from a mob of the lowest populace in the pay of the Duc de Bouillon, who followed the *cortège* to the Palais, where the Presidents alighted. Shouts of "*A bas le Mazarin! Point de Paix! Nous sommes vendus!*" echoed along the lofty corridors of the edifice. Molé marched on, however, showing the utmost unconcern, and, depositing the Queen's missive in *la greffe*, to be read on the following morning, he returned to his house.

The same night a conclave was holden in the Hôtel Bouillon to concert measures for the morrow. The most violent counsels prevailed; M. d'Elbœuf proposed that an insurrection should be fomented, and barricades built; and that the body of members of the High Court *dits Mazarins*, should be incarcerated in the Bastille. Bouillon again hotly assailed Gondy, with propositions concerning the sedition which the more violent members wished to promote. The Coadjutor spoke with more than his usual *finesse*, and tact; he explained, he amplified, and discussed possible projects; but no solicitation could induce him openly to declare himself a partisan of the Spanish league, until M. de Turenne had actually brought his army to the gates of Paris.

Nothing had been heard for some days of Turenne's movements; he had written to his brother and sister-in-law explaining his position, and the trouble which certain unruly colonels occasioned him, and especially D'Erlach, colonel of the Swiss; but promising in a few days to appear before Paris. Neither Turenne,

nor the Frondeur league seemed to have divined the possibility that M. de Mazarin had preceded them in bribery. The ambiguous language, and embarrassed manner of M. de Conty, also roused Gondy's suspicion. His *devoirs* to Madame de Longueville had been slack: she had also been forsaken by the other leaders of revolt; she was lonely and depressed by anxiety. Condé, in short, was her brother—a prince peremptory, and daring, whose letters, whenever he had lately condescended to write, expressed the greatest contempt for her *liaison* with such *canaille;* and for her political misdeeds as a princess of the blood of Bourbon. Conty, the pale delicate boy, had also probably tired of the fatigues and hardships of a position so novel; and sighed for the luxurious court, and for emancipation from converse with street brawlers, and *poissardes.* Gondy, therefore, impressively recommended caution to M. de Bouillon; offering to his consideration the salutary example of the late Duc d'Aumale, a champion wary and powerful as himself, who had expiated his treason to Henri Quatre by life-long exile, and penury. The Generals, therefore, concluded that, prudence being the best policy, they would wait for some demonstration which might rouse the people to sedition, and defiance of their parliamentary rulers. Madame de Bouillon, as soon as all the lords, except the Coadjutor, had taken leave, rushed into the apartment, and asked, "Whether it had been resolved to arrest the Parliament?" On being told that nothing had been decided, she pouted her lip, and exclaimed angrily, addressing her husband,

—"Ah, I knew that you would suffer yourself to be led by M. le Coadjuteur!" Gondy said: "Madame, reflect; shall we not be in better position to achieve your desire when our troops have left Paris, when we have received the reply of M. l'Archiduc, and when M. de Turenne shall have issued his manifesto?" "Yes; but to-morrow the Parliament will render your fine *préalables* out of date!" said the duchess. "No, Madame; if our designs succeed, we shall be in better condition to beard the Parliament!" "Do you promise?" asked the duchess, enthusiastically. "Faithfully, Madame! and I will sign the engagement in my blood!" "You shall so sign this very moment!" said Madame de Bouillon. The duchess then took a pen, and scrawled hastily, "I promise the Duchesse de Bouillon to unite with her husband against the Parliament, in case M. de Turenne approaches Paris with his army, within ten leagues of the town, and proclaims himself our defender." Madame de Bouillon then seized the hand of the Coadjutor, punctured his thumb with a needle, and literally compelled him to sign his promise, as he had proposed. "M. de Bouillon, however," adds Gondy, "threw this fine document into the fire."

On the 28th of February, 1649, Molé, from his seat in the Chamber, related the events of his journey to St. Germain, and the gracious demeanour of the Queen; but prudently suppressing, by an act of high policy and self-devotion, the written answer given by Anne of Austria to the address sent by the High Court. Despite of the clamours, and fierce outcries of Broussel,

the Counsellor Quatresous, and other Hotspurs of the Chamber, and the more subtle and plausible opposition of Gondy, the house agreed, "That conference should be holden in any town or place agreeable to Her Majesty; that a deputation should be nominated, endowed with powers to conclude a treaty, consisting of four Presidents, two Counsellors of the High Court, one Counsellor of Requests and one of Inquests, two Generals of the Parliament, two members of the municipality, and M. Féron, Prevôt des Marchands; that due notification of this resolution should be given to the Duc de Longueville, the which being accomplished Her Majesty should be summoned to raise the blockade of Paris!" Talon was empowered to carry this resolution to St. Germain, to ask for safe-conducts, and to urge that the blockade of the city might be instantly raised. The sudden occupation of the town of Brie by royal troops increased the panic in Paris; and riotous assemblages of people asking for bread, silenced for the moment, all malcontents at the loyal proceedings of the High Court. Anne commanded that safe-conducts should be given as requested: she fixed the place of conference at Ruel, the splendid château of Madame d'Aiguillon, but denied steadily that she had promised to raise the blockade; she having, on the contrary, engaged to open only one passage for the conveyance of corn into the city, on the ratification by the Chamber of the proposal of its deputies. The Queen said, that, by the advice of M. de Condé, she had no objection to allow the daily transport into the town of a hundred quarters of wheat; a boon to remain in force during

the conferences, and to commence on the day when the deputies of Parliament, and the royal delegates met at Ruel. The lords did all in their power to create a commotion on this alleged limitation of the royal bounty: they declared that the Queen was false; and that the mistake arose from her deliberate perfidy, rather than from a misapprehension, or an assumption of fact purposely made for the good of the city by Talon, the attorney-general. Talon, on his return, gave an enthusiastic recital of Anne's gracious manner. "Her Majesty said, that for every step made along the way of royal obedience, she would make two steps on the path of royal bounty."

On the 4th of March the deputies departed for Ruel: the four Presidents selected were Molé, de Mêsmes, le Coigneux, and Viole, the last-mentioned personages being hostile to the court, and were therefore above suspicion of corruption, an accusation freely levelled at Molé, and de Mêsmes. The royal envoys waited for them at Ruel: these personages were—the Duc d'Orléans, Condé, the Cardinal de Mazarin, the Chancellor de Séguier, M. de la Meilleraye, M. le Tellier, the Abbé de la Rivière, and M. de Brienne. The proceedings were conducted with the gravest etiquette, the great officers of the household being in attendance upon the Princes. After an interval had been given to refreshment, Sainctôt, master of the ceremonies at court, waited on Molé, and informed him that Monsieur, M. le Prince, M. le Cardinal, and others of Her Majesty's privy council, were ready to receive them, and to confer. Molé, startled at the mention of Mazarin, who

still remained under the ban of Parliament, replied that he perceived a difficulty, to wit, the presence of M. de Mazarin. Sainctôt departed and communicated with Monsieur, and returned with the message, "that the Queen had nominated M. le Cardinal, and that no objection had been made by Her Majesty to any person chosen by the Parliament, though there was indeed, ample room for protest; that Monsieur wished to know whether 'the difficulty' was considered insuperable, as, in that case, he would return to St. Germain." Molé, anticipating a violent outburst from MM. Viole and le Coigneux, requested to be allowed to confer with Monsieur. "My reply to MM. de la Cour," said the duke, when Sainctôt informed him of this request, "is, that I am not here to receive compliments, but to give peace to France. M. le Cardinal must be present at the conference, or nothing valid can be accomplished." The following morning brought more moderate counsels; Molé again applied for audience, and was admitted into the private chamber of Monsieur, whom he found dressing before a fire, and conversing with Mazarin. The latter then proposed to adjust the difficulty by the following clever method: that two of the Parliamentary deputies, with two of the royal envoys, should meet to discuss and agree upon certain articles, which afterwards should be proposed to, and accepted by the remaining members, each party meantime, occupying a separate chamber. The chancellor and M. le Tellier were chosen from among the royal deputies, and the Presidents le Coigneux, and de Viole, from the parliamentary

envoys.* These preliminaries adjusted, the Chancellor proposed as conditions of peace, that the Parliament should adjourn to Montargis; secondly, that the High Court should refrain from debating on public matters for the space of three years; that no member should be eligible to assist at assemblies of the Courts unless he was a magistrate of twenty years standing; and that the convoking of the Courts should appertain exclusively to the first president of the Parliament. These propositions were unanimously negatived; the royal envoys, however, held firm to their instructions, and declared that the Queen would concede no more. Mazarin, on the 6th of March, paid a visit to Anne of Austria to report progress. After the departure of his Eminence, Anne publicly said, "No progress has been made; there will be no conference, and consequently, no peace; but so much the worse for you, MM. de la Cour!" †

In Paris the princes were taking heart; their affairs wore a brighter aspect. The Duchesse de Longueville had declared herself again the vehement partisan of a league with Spain; her motive being, as it was thought, pique, that certain private overtures which she had made to the Queen through M. Flammerens, a gentleman sent by Anne to condole with Queen Henrietta, had been rejected with scorn. Moreover, le Coigneux,

* Recit. de ce qui ce passa à la première conférence de Ruel; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives du Royaume, cotté 32.—M. Fournier is the author of this narrative. Talon; la Rochefoucauld; De Retz.

† Mém. de Talon, de Motteville, de Montglât; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville et du Parlement de Paris; Recit. de M. Fournier; De Retz; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin.

one of the parliamentary deputies, had revived the spirits of the princes by betraying the counsels of his colleagues, and assuring them that difficulties were increasing at St. Germain; that the Queen was intractable, and frequently exclaimed, "*Mazarin premier ministre, ou point de paix!*" On the 8th Bouillon received a despatch from his brother Turenne, announcing that he was actually on his march for Paris; and the same day M. de Conty went down to the Chamber to inform the High Court, "that M. de Turenne had crossed the Rhine with his army, and was then on his march to offer his services to the King and to the Parliament, to defend them against the oppression of the Cardinal de Mazarin."* On the same afternoon, the army of the Fronde mustered, in order to encamp without the city, at Villejuif, preparatory to its junction with that of Turenne. On the 9th, further news transported the chieftains: a courier arrived from M. de Longueville to inform the Parliament that all Normandy had risen; and that without fail on the 15th he should leave Rouen at the head of 7,000 foot-soldiers and 3,000 horse, and intended to march straight upon St. Germain to capture the person of the King! On the 11th, an envoy from the Duc de la Trimouille presented himself to the Chamber, and announced that his master, at the head of 12,000 men, could set off from Poitiers in two days, provided that he might be authorised to appropriate funds from the town coffers, for the complete equipment of his army.

* De Retz, t. i.; Langlade, Vie du Duc de Bouillon; Vie du Maréchal de Turenne.

"Messieurs made great thanks to the said duke, and were graciously pleased to give him authority to take the money he needed, begging him to march with the utmost speed." With Spain, meantime, the negotiations of the princes were thriving. The Archduke despatched another envoy, Don Francesco de Pizarro, the bearer of a treaty, in which he engaged to march to the assistance of the Parliament, as far as Pont-à-Verre, so soon as the treaty was signed. The Generals were convened, and the proposals of the Catholic King explained: all the chieftains declared themselves willing to sign the league, excepting the Coadjutor. Gondy argued and fenced: he supposed casualties, and explained how they should be defeated. He was not sure of Turenne: perhaps his *liaison* with the court, in which he had many friends, enabled him to be more cautious than his colleagues; he believed, moreover, that the court would eagerly take advantage of the conciliatory overtures of Molé. Moreover, he appreciated the urgent desire felt by Philip IV. to be at peace with the realm ruled by his sister; and he boldly affirmed in the presence of the envoy, that his Catholic Majesty would, in his heart, rather make peace with Mazarin, than run the risk of another war *à toute outrance* with France. Provoked by Gondy's slippery excuses, Bouillon angrily asked his meaning. "For example, Monsieur, I mean, if M. de Turenne was to die, let us suppose," calmly rejoined the Coadjutor; "or that his army should revolt as M. d'Erlach desires—what would become of us if we entered on the perilous course you propose without the

support of Parliament? I will tell you: the first day you would see us honoured tribunes of the people —the day following, vassals of the Count de Fuensaldaña. I go back, therefore, to my old song—everything with the Parliament, nothing without it!" The treaty, nevertheless, was accepted and signed, and Gondy returned to his home with a heavy heart, feeling himself suspected by the princes, at variance with the court, and detested by the Parliament. The Marquis de Noirmoutier was despatched to Brussels to hasten the preparations of the Archduke, and to confer with Madame de Chevreuse; to whom the Generals confided the negotiation of their respective interests.

The report of these *menées* struck the loyal soul of Molé with dismay, and indignation. He perceived that national ruin impended; and that the skirmishes which had hitherto distinguished the insurrection must, after the junction of Turenne and the Archduke with the troops of La Fronde, resolve into hotly contested battles, where Louis Quartorze would have to fight inch by inch for his kingdom. The extent of the treasonable understanding of the Duc de Bouillon and his colleagues, with Spain, was only completely opened to the astonished mind of the first president by Queen Anne. The Queen, well informed of these proceedings, sent down a minute of them for the perusal of Molé. This document was written throughout by the Queen's own hand; it was clear and vigorous in style, and its assertions were supported by original and intercepted documents, confirmatory

of the rank treason of Madame de Chevreuse, and her friends in Paris. Dread, also, of the vengeance of the princes, and a renewal of the sanguinary violence of the days of the Holy League agitated all the deputies; even le Coigneux, and Viole trembled lest the dark portals of the Bastille might close behind them, and the authority of the Parliament be superseded.

Secret information was received by Molé on the evening of the 8th, that the Chamber, exulting in the intelligence of the powerful reinforcements about to be poured into Paris, intended to recall its deputies; notification of which would be made on the morrow, accompanied by a precise order for their immediate return. No time, therefore, was to be lost; the exigency was dire. Molé, and de Mêsmes therefore, resolved to anticipate the order, and to risk their lives in a grand attempt to save the realm. In the dead of night, therefore, they secretly repaired to the chamber of Mazarin—the outlawed minister becoming, at length, their only hope, and refuge. "Monsieur," said they, addressing the astonished prelate, "in the condition in which affairs are now placed, we have resolved to risk all: we are ready to sign a peace to save the realm; we will furthermore sign it this instant, for Parliament will probably revoke our powers to-morrow. We risk all: if our colleagues disavow us, we shall find the gates of Paris closed against us, and we shall be judicially impeached as traitors, and liars. It is for you, therefore, to procure for us conditions which may justify our proceedings, and save our lives. Your interest, Monsieur, is

at stake; if you grant to the Parisians reasonable and equitable terms, we promise on our lives, to procure the ratification of such treaty from the King's loyal Parliament, who will listen to us rather than to traitors, most abominable and accursed!" At length Molé had appealed to Mazarin; despite the act of outlawry and the past fierce hostility, the Cardinal beheld himself arbiter of the destiny of France. It was not to Monsieur, the *bon ami* of the Parliament, or to M. le Prince, the pride and glory of France, to whom the stern senators had applied; but to him, with whom the parliamentary deputies had declined scornfully to confer; and who, a few hours previously, would have renounced the boon of a pacification, rather than suffer "the pollution of his odious presence, and diplomacy." The Cardinal replied in words of joyous encouragement: he thanked the Presidents with emotion, for the confidence they had reposed in his patriotism. He affirmed all their worst apprehensions: the rebels, he said, hated the Queen for her past rejection of their services; that it was their resolve to destroy the Parliament; and to imprison all members hostile to their designs. Monsieur was thereupon next summoned; also M. le Prince. Mazarin then sat down, to draw up the important articles of pacification. Without further reference to Anne of Austria, he announced that her Majesty had been pleased to renounce her intention of exiling the Parliament to Montargis; but would be satisfied by the presence, and homage of all the members at St. Germain after the ratification of peace. Articles were then agreed upon:

Mazarin displayed severity, and diligently trenched round the royal dignity—aware probably that the Queen must be so propitiated, if her signature was to be extorted. The principal items of the treaty were:—that the Parliament in a body should repair to St. Germain, where the King would hold a Lit de Justice; subsequently, the Parliament may abide in Paris; that during the remainder of the year 1649 the Parliament shall suspend its sittings, despite any cause whatever; that the Acts passed since the beginning of January, 1649, be held null and void; that the deputy of Archduke Leopold shall be sent from Paris without an answer: that it shall be lawful for the King to borrow all sums necessary for the exigencies of the realm, at a rate of 12 per cent.; that M. le Prince de Conty, and the other princes, lords, and officers of the crown, shall receive amnesty provided that their submission be made within the time hereafter to be prescribed; that the King shall grant a general discharge for all moneys purloined, or appropriated, especially for furniture and valuables, sold in Paris, or elsewhere; that the King shall without delay make overtures of peace to the King of Spain, and permit that certain members of the High Court shall assist in the drawing up of such treaty: finally, that the Declaration of October 24th shall be ratified again, and maintained by the crown." Afterwards came separate articles securing royal pardon for the rebellious Parliaments of Rouen, and Aix. The Presidents accepted every stipulation without protest: the terms on the whole were favourable—the Parliament

escaped the humiliation of exile; and the treaty reaffirmed the validity of the celebrated, and much-contested Declaration; and nothing was ordained concerning their prized, but usurped privilege of discussing royal edicts before registration. Taking up the treaty, Mazarin set out immediately for St. Germain, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, to seek the Queen; the two Presidents, remaining at the lodgings of his Eminence, waiting his return. After an interval of several hours, when the Cardinal reappeared, declaring that the Queen accepted all the articles agreed upon, the strong men of the Parliament trembled in their suspense and joy, and wept from emotion as little children.

The following morning the treaty received the formal signature of the plenipotentiaries concerned. A demur occurred on the part of the first President relative to its signature by Mazarin. The Cardinal, declaring that he would willingly forego such official recognition, provided that the deputies were satisfied with the sole sign-manual of the Duc d'Orleans, prudential considerations prevailed, and the signature of Mazarin stands third in rank, preceding all other subscriptions, except that of Monsieur, and Condé. Scarcely had the ratifications been exchanged than an envoy from Parliament arrived, bringing a summons for the deputies to return, signed by the President de Bellièvre. Molé, proudly unfolded the parchment, and exhibited the treaty concluded, and moreover signed by all the deputies sent by the Parliament, even by the Presidents le Coigneux, and Viole.

Whether these personages suffered themselves to be persuaded by the admirable arguments of their President; or whether, unwilling to become marked men by the court in case the peace of Ruel received the ratification of the Chamber, their signature appears at the foot of the treaty, while no record exists, explaining how it was obtained.

The same day, late in the evening, Molé set out from Ruel on his return to Paris. The city was already in arms, as the completion of the treaty had transpired. The princes, furious and determined, proposed all kinds of violent measures. It was at first resolved to shut the gates against the envoys; others counselled that Molé should be assassinated as he passed through the streets. The Chamber, however, firmly resolved to hear the relation of their honoured first President ere they came to premature conclusions; and unanimously adjourned until the morning, when all the Generals, and lords, were invited to be present at the session. Lamentations and fierce resentment agitated the lords, combined with a mortifying sense of helplessness. Their vengeance had been baulked; and the Queen, whom they thought to have deposed, or humiliated, had escaped them, with the minister to whom they ascribed her alienation, and hated accordingly. M. Viole had contrived, during his stay at Ruel, to communicate with his friends in Paris by little notes, furtively written, all blurred and nearly illegible—and so the signature of the treaty had been thus announced to M. de Bouillon.

At seven o'clock, a.m., the Chamber met, all the princes being present. Molé, undaunted by the threatening attitude of the people, moved loftily along, and seating himself in his chair of state, began to read the *procès-verbal* of all that had occurred at Ruel. His voice was sometimes drowned by clamorous comments, or by shrill outcries in the streets, which from time to time penetrated above the hum and rustle of the mob without. When Molé had concluded his recital, the democrats of the Chamber started up, thundering, "that there should be no peace; that the mission of the deputies had been revoked; and that they had basely, and with cowardice abandoned the interest of the Generals, and the princes allied to the cause!" Conty rose as soon as silence could be insured, and in a low plaintive tone, reproached Molé for the perfidy of his surreptitious betrayal; and his ingratitude in leaving the Generals to the mercy of the incensed Regent, and her minister. Bouillon rose next, and bluffly said, that the only grace he now requested from the Parliament was, that the members would kindly obtain for him a passport to leave the kingdom, as Mazarin was to be accepted, and reinstalled. "Sir," said Molé, "we stipulated for your interests, and made special request that Sedan might be restored to you!" The duke muttered some words to the purport, that such promises from Mazarin were moonshine; besides, he did not intend, like the Parliament, to abandon his friends. The clamour in the House here increased in tenfold degree—some members shouting to make themselves heard; others standing on benches

and tables, gesticulating wildly. "*Point de Mazarin! Point de Paix!*" was echoed in chorus from without. Conty venturing again to complain, that a treaty had been signed without his participation, Molé started from his seat, his eyes flashing, and his manner so imposing, that silence for an interval bound the lips of the noisy demagogues. "What," exclaimed he, "you, Sir, ask why we concluded peace without your participation! We did so to circumvent the pernicious, most traitorous, and murderous designs of you, and your colleagues! Messieurs," continued Molé, his voice gathering strength from the vehemence of his indignation, "while we were at Ruel, these, our alleged protectors, were negotiating with the enemies of France! You sent the Marquis de Noirmoutier to the Archduke," continued he, addressing Conty, and M. de Bouillon. "Previously, you sent one Brétigny on the same mission. Your letters, which we have perused, summoned the Archduke into France, and delivered this fair realm to the ravages of a foe. Thus, when, as you say, you were united to this august Chamber, you dare to give us such colleagues without our assent! What was the attitude of this Company respecting the envoy from the Archduke, which you forced upon us? Can you wonder, then, that we repudiate, and resent such an indignity?" "We took this step by and with the advice of certain members of this august Chamber," murmured Conty, with white, and trembling lips. "Name them! name them!" cried Molé, "name them! and we will arraign and sentence them as criminals guilty of high treason!" Tumul-

tuous applause followed from the majority of members, who, totally ignorant of the active intercourse which had been carried on between their Generals, and the Spaniard, listened at first to Molé's charge with curious incredulity—a feeling which now gave place to indignation at finding themselves so duped, and perhaps compromised. Conty, upon whom the onus of this scene was suffered to devolve by his colleagues, again muttered, "that the princes were good Frenchmen, and ready to draw the sword against the Archduke, if the Companies were satisfied." "Say then, on the instant, now, whether you will be included in the treaty that we have signed. Answer—Yes, or No!" exclaimed the first President, vehemently. At this juncture, however, a terrific yell burst from the outer hall, called la Salle des Pas Perdus. Amid shrieks of "*A bas Mazarin! Allons à St. Germain! A la rivière tous les Mazarins!*" two ushers of the Chamber rushed in, exclaiming that the people demanded to speak with M. le Duc de Beaufort. The duke, therefore, "that Mars of the age, and Chiefest in valour," rose and went without. The vast hall was filled by a mob of armed ruffians in the pay of Bouillon. The leader appeared to be one Deboisle, a lawyer of the Châtelet, who, surrounded by a band of men armed with poignards and pistols, shouted for the head of Grande Barbe (Molé). The Duc de Beaufort was surrounded in a moment by a troop of dishevelled viragoes, who were preparing to batter in the doors of La Grande Chambre, to tear, as they declared, the first President limb from limb. The duke unsheathed his

sword, and waving it aloft, exclaimed, finding nothing better to say; "At least, Mesdames, this sword shall never fight for Mazarin!" The President Novion, meantime, bravely joined Beaufort, and adjured the people to respect the lives of the King's officers. "What?" shouted Deboisle; "the people made the King, who made the Parliament! *Voila!* why should one be respected more than the other?" The mob then charged the side doors which opened on the staircases, leading to the galleries of the Chamber. They yielded with a crash, and a furious multitude streamed along the galleries, shrieking, and levelling muskets at certain of the trembling members below. Once a portion of the balustrade of the gallery gave way to pressure, and fell with a crash into the Chamber below, increasing the fright, and consternation. "Never did I behold such sublime courage and intrepidity, as was displayed by M. Molé. Not a feature winced, and he displayed invincible firmness, and a presence of mind almost supernatural," says Gondy. The members gathered round their President, to shield him from the furious mob; they implored him to fly by a private door behind the throne, which led through the public registry into a by-street close to his official residence. "The Court never shrinks nor hides," said Molé, composedly. "If I knew that my death was certain, nothing should compel me to fly; if I became guilty of this cowardice, would not treason be encouraged, and the rabble seek me in my own house, if I fled from them out of this?" Gondy here interposed, and entreated Molé at least not to expose his life

until he had made an effort to disperse the mob. "*Ah, mon bon Seigneur,* then quickly say this merciful word!" retorted Molé, contemptuously. The Coadjutor, desiring the Duc de Beaufort to stand at the threshold of the Chamber, to prevent the entrance of the people, mounted on a bench, and began to harangue the insurgents in the gallery. His speech was interrupted by derisive cheers and laughter, and by the discharge of several muskets, which fortunately struck the opposite wall, and did little harm. He then left the Chamber, and sought Deboisle, the leader of the mob. Meantime, Molé, refusing longer to wait for the Coadjutor's manœuvres, appeared, surrounded by many members, who had resolved to share his perils and fate, and prepared to leave the Palais by the grand staircase. The Coadjutor flew to his side; the Duc de Bouillon followed Gondy's example. A furious partizan, seeing the duke, and deluded by mad passion, struck him a violent blow on the back, crying "*Meurs Mazarin!*" which threw M. de Bouillon flat on the ground, where, as he lay, he was severely trodden upon. Gondy, seeing a man about to stab Molé in the breast, turned aside the blow, at the cost of a sharp wound on his own hand—a deed which, with commendable but rare modesty, he omits to record in his memoirs. Once in the street, Molé was hurried into a coach belonging to one of the lords, and conducted to his house, amid the hearty thanksgivings, and congratulations of all his colleagues.

The tumult had lasted from two in the afternoon until seven at night: notwithstanding the fatigue and

severe exhaustion arising from such an episode of terror, the president was again in the Chamber by nine the following morning, his treaty of Ruel in hand. Féron and the loyal municipality had intervened for the protection of the Chamber, and its brave and patriotic president; and the *garde bourgeoise* lined the streets in the vicinity of the Palais, and was massed before its portals. The violent scene of the preceding day had seriously discomposed Gondy, and the lords, his colleagues; the Prince de Conty lay actually sick in bed of fright, and nervous disturbance. The Generals, and their *aides-de-camp*, therefore, came in orderly guise, each declaring, as he took his seat, that persuasive argument, and not seditious outrage, was to be used to induce the Chamber to reject that most pernicious convention of Ruel. M. de Bouillon opened the debate by expressing regret that the Generals had not given satisfaction to the Parliament. He enlarged proudly on the strength of the league, "fortified by the army of M. de Longueville, of that of my brother, the Marshal de Turenne, of that of my brother-in-law, M. de Trimouille, to say nothing of the immense succours likely to accrue from our recent alliance with M. l'Archiduc. In Paris we have now an army of 14,000 men. We, your Generals, therefore promise, Messieurs, —if you will disavow the shameful, and humiliating articles of Ruel—to open all the passages now in the power of le Mazarin by to-morrow, and to pour abundance into this city." Molé shuddered when he heard this public avowal of league with Spain, uttered in a Chamber of the High Court of Parliament.

"Monsieur," replied he, sternly, "the matter is, not what you can do, but what we have acquired. If the Company approves of my act, and confirms the treaty which I have negotiated, our city is *to-day* free, with the prospect of certain, and bountiful peace. We have now, therefore, to choose whether we will abide under your protection, as you propose, and have bread with war; or under that of our gracious King, and accept peace with bread!" So great was the amazement and fear, produced by this avowal of the negotiations with Spain, and by the rumour current, that envoys from the English Parliament were in treaty with the Generals, that the Chamber, by an immense majority, adopted the articles of Ruel, with the modifications hereafter to be stated; and voted, that Molé should be requested to proceed again to St. Germain to thank the Queen, and to supplicate that she would remit certain stipulations, and command the blockade of Paris to be raised. The articles rejected by the Chamber were:—1st, the Parliament objected to seek the court at St. Germain, and prayed to be relieved from the obligation; 2ndly, that the Parliament could not consent to suspend its sittings during the remainder of the year; 3rdly, that the Parliament heard with regret and surprise, the article which authorised the King to raise any sums he pleased by loan, *au denier douze*. A deputation of two members then waited on the Prince de Conty, at the Hôtel de Ville, to communicate the supplementary articles of Ruel—to wit, that the Queen gave the princes four days to resolve on submission; and the Ducs de

Longueville, and de la Trimouille, being absentees, ten days, to lay down arms; at the expiration of that stated interval her Majesty would withdraw her gracious amnesty, and punish each, and every offender with the rigorous award of treason. The deputies, therefore, prayed MM. les Princes to send by the morrow notice, if they desired the intervention and mediation of the High Court, and to be included in the treaty; as the first President left for St. Germain early on the following morning, the 16th of March.*

The wanderings of M. de Turenne were still involved in mystery; and affairs, despite the boastings of M. de Bouillon, again looked very dark. The Coadjutor was impracticable, yet always smilingly plausible. If, after all, Anne of Austria should grant the demands of the princes, rehabilitation at her hands might be preferable to a civil war, and the doubtful mercies of the Catholic King—a prince, whose favour was in the highest degree precarious, as it was to be exercised against the interest of his nephew, and that of his once dearly beloved sister, Queen Anne. The list of bounties demanded from the court was thereupon sent to Molé—utter silence concerning Mazarin being carefully maintained. Molé glanced indignantly over this document, containing the grasping, and insatiable demands of a rebel crew, who would willingly have divided the kingdom; and who shamelessly called upon the Queen to dispossess officers of tried merit

* Aubéry, Hist. de Mazarin; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives du Royaume, cotté No. 32; Mém. de Talon, whose admirable register of events is indispensable for the history of this troubled period.

and fidelity, in their favour. Conty asked for a seat in the privy council, and a stronghold in Champagne; the Duc de Bouillon demanded the restitution of Sédan, and the government of Alsace for M. de Turenne; and for his brother-in-law, the Duc de la Trimouille, the county of Rousillon, and the principality of Montbéliard. The Duc d'Elbœuf asked for the government of Picardy; for his son, M. d'Harcourt, the government of Montreuil. The Duc de Longueville demanded the government of the fortress of Pont de l'Arche, in Normandy; the Marshal de la Mothe, the government of Bellegarde; the Duc de Luynes, the return of Madame de Chevreuse; the Duc de Beaufort, the charge of Lord High Admiral of France; and the Coadjutor Gondy de Retz, the cardinalate. All the minor notabilities were equally voracious; and graduated their requests from military commands, to the acquisition of a *tabouret* at court for their wives, or daughters. When Mathieu Molé presented this document in silence to Anne of Austria, a scornful smile passed over her face, as she cast it aside, as she said, for further consideration.

During the absence of Molé, another envoy from the Archduke Léopold entered Paris. Don Gabriel de Toledo brought back the Spanish treaty, ratified by the Archduke. Gondy, and the Duc de Bouillon, gave him audience, and pressing for the immediate advance of Spanish troops to Pont à Verre, were greeted by the intelligence that the army of his Imperial Highness had already marched. Transported with joy, the princes despatched the Marquis de Noirmoutier to meet,

and conduct the Archduke on his route through the Champagne. To perfect the triumph of La Fronde, there needed but the notification of Turenne's advance. The Coadjutor even, became expansive, and hopeful. The junction of the great German army under Turenne, with the Spanish troops, and the provincial levies of La Fronde, would enable the allies, as they hoped, to dictate to St. Germain; and probably decree the deposition of Anne of Austria. Elate and daring, the Duc de Bouillon went down to the Chamber, and announced the march of the Archduke and his legions. He was heard in utter silence. Placards against Mazarin again swarmed throughout the capital, and a diatribe of peculiar virulence, in the shape of a letter addressed to Condé, was circulated. The Cardinal's gluttonous propensities, and luxury, were descanted upon with unction. "Has not the said beastly tyrant invented a new kind of beverage, of exquisite luxury, for the delectation of his vile tongue, the cost of which surpasses credence? Has he not given his name to sundry delicate bread loaves, and pastry pasties, to ragouts in infinity—all so many devilish lures, and gluttonies? And did he not employ those idlers of the idle, to wit, the monks of Italy, during three years, to compound a delicious and costly paste, to whiten his plebeian hands?" *

* An Adieu was also published, of which the following is the first verse:—

Adieu, donc, pauvre Mazarin!
Adieu, mon pauvre Tabarin,
Adieu, l'oncle des Mazarinettes;
Adieu, père aux Marionettes.
Adieu, le plus beaux des galans;
Adieu, buveur de limonades;
Adieu, l'inventeur des pommades;
Adieu, l'homme aux bonnes senteurs!

During the following few days, Bouillon and his allies reigned omnipotently in Paris; the democrats of the Parliament revived and took courage; hostile decrees were again launched against Mazarin, and the sale of his rich effects in the Palais Mazarin resolved upon. The princes sent the Duc de Brissac, and two minor envoys to St. Germain, to insist upon the concessions they had demanded; they also insolently notified the advance of the Archduke. Had Queen Anne declared her willingness to content these rapacious rebels, Bouillon, it is believed, had it in his mind to proclaim the march of Léopold a pacific demonstration; the duke being well aware of the extreme anxiety felt by his Catholic Majesty for the settlement of peace, which he would then have dictated on the terms most acceptable to King Philip. The Archduke, in short, himself proclaimed, that under any contingency he should be found ready to treat, and to accept propositions for a general peace; and to stop in his warlike progress whenever deputies were nominated, either by Queen Anne, or by the Parliament. Two days subsequent to the notification of the Archduke's advance, Gondy, and the Spanish envoy were dining at the Hôtel Bouillon. The duchess was in the gayest spirits, anticipating all kinds of successes to their cause, and graciously entertaining her guests. During the evening, M. de Briquemaut, one of the duke's confidential officers, entered with a face so troubled, and stern as to attract immediate attention. Taking the duchess apart, he whispered earnestly for a few minutes. Madame de Bouillon turned pale; the

colour then rose to her cheeks, and tears gushed from her eyes. Extending her hands to the Coadjutor, she exclaimed, "*Hélas! Hélas!* all is lost! We are ruined. M. de Turenne has been abandoned by his army!" Mazarin's money had prevailed over the artifices of Turenne. D'Erlach had successfully confirmed the troops in their wavering allegiance. The army crossed the Rhine on the 7th of March, led by their renowned commander. Once upon French soil, six regiments revolted against Turenne's mandate, and refused to march onwards upon Paris, except at the command of the Queen, or of Condé. They retired to Brissac. The following day three more regiments left Turenne's banner, and proceeded to Philipsbourg. The rest of the army gathered round d'Erlach, and saluted him as chief, after he had displayed his warrant, signed by the Regent, and by her minister. Turenne, upon the point of being arrested by d'Erlach, fled by night alone, and in disguise, to Heilbrun; from whence he proceeded to Homburg, and asked the protection of the Landgrave of Hesse, whose wife was the Marshal's cousin-german.*

The defection of the German army, and the flight of Turenne, extinguished the last hope of the factions. Nothing remained but to make the best of circumstances, and to obtain the pardon of the Queen on the lightest possible terms. In announcing to the Chamber the bitter disappointment of his hopes, M. de

* Vie de Maréchal de Turenne. Vie du Duc de Bouillon—Langlade; Mém. de Retz, t. i.; Mém. de Talon, Avocat-Général.

Bouillon declared, for himself and colleagues, "that the excessive demands made to the crown for place, arose from their distrust of M. de Mazarin, who was the incarnation of perfidy; but if the said Cardinal were made to vacate the realm, he, and the other princes were willing to withdraw all demands, and submit unconditionally to the Queen." The Parliament listened; but as Broussel, and Viole were now silenced, members declined to entertain any proposition whatever, until after the return from St. Germain of their president, Mathieu Molé.

Anne and her ministers, recognising the ardour of Molé, who, while faithfully defending public liberty, had shown himself so worthy a servant of the King, accorded him many facilities, and privileges of access. Persuaded by his earnest counsels, Anne relaxed in the articles which had given offence to the Parliament: she forgave the Chamber its penitential pilgrimage to St. Germain; and was satisfied with the promise of Molé, that he would employ his influence for the suspension of political debates in parliament until after the ensuing vacation. Faithful to his cause, however, while serving the King, Molé added the condition, "provided that no infraction occurs on the part of the government, of the royal Declaration of October 24th, confirming the Articles of the Chambre St. Louis." Respecting the powers desired by the King to contract loans, for the carrying on of the government, at twelve per centum, it was agreed that the privilege should be limited to a levy, if necessary, of twelve millions,

within the next two years.* As a mark of favour to Molé, for his services, the Queen consented to permit the son of Broussel to remain for the present in his post as Captain of the Bastille. M. de Louviers was a young man, well-intentioned, the godson of Molé, and who had behaved during the troubles with commendable moderation. The hungry throng in Paris meantime, were secretly intriguing with Mazarin, notwithstanding their abusive denunciations. This private system of bribery was not at all distasteful to the Cardinal, who excelled in the conduct of such traffic. The Prince de Conty, and Madame de Longueville, had each their private emissaries; the which, out of regard to Condé, whose susceptibility seemed daily on the increase, were well received. It was thus privately agreed that Conty should be put in possession of the stronghold of Damvilliers; and that the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, as a propitiation to Madame de Longueville, should be lieutenant to his royal highness—a lucrative appointment, as princes of the rank of Conty, usually abandoned to their lieutenants the emoluments of their commands. Mazarin also entered into correspondence with Madame de Montbazon, and sent her a gift of money, and the deeds of a rich abbey, as the price of her interest with the Duc de Beaufort. M. de Bouillon also authorised a private agent to treat with Mazarin, offering to compound his claim upon Sédan for half a million sterling,

* Aubéry, Hist. de Mazarin, t. ii.; Articles de la Paix, conclue et arretée à Ruel, le 11 Mars, 1649; MS. Bibl. Imps: Fontaniou, No. 49.

a sum three times that amount at the rate of currency of the day. The past and continued imprudence of the princes, and their blind animosity to the Cardinal, nipped in its bud any generous intention on the part of the Queen. The Count de Maure, one of the deputies sent to negotiate their interests, asked audience of the Queen in council. The demand was granted; and M. de Maure had then the incredible folly, considering the condition of affairs, to demand the deposition, and exile of the Cardinal de Mazarin! A glance at Anne's face sufficed to give the Duc d'Orleans the requisite hint for his reply. "The Queen will not grant your demands," said he, peevishly; "my cousin of Condé, and myself also, consider M. de Mazarin indispensable to the crown, and to this realm, and we counsel her Majesty to retain his services. You have your answer." M. de Maure, unabashed, then prayed that some specific answer might be given to the lords. Anne herself replied, "Your request is easy to grant. The pretensions of the persons you allude to, depend for their fulfilment on justice, or on the gracious favour of the King; the claims of justice shall be respected; but the King intends to confer his favours on meritorious, and loyal subjects, as acts of pure grace—gifts that shall not be extorted from the crown." Anne at length spoke plainly, and the wrathful tone of her voice proved that she was in earnest. This attack on Mazarin was the last for some time, for the Queen's words, when in her imperious moods, were not to be disregarded. The pretensions, therefore, of the princes were coolly dis-

posed of thus :—Conty got Damvilliers, with La Rochefoucauld as his lieutenant; and the Duc de Longueville was compelled to be satisfied with the promise of Pont de l'Arche, given out of consideration for the Prince de Condé. M. de Bouillon received a blank refusal to his application for the re-establishment of M. de Turenne; and a promise, that the King would take his demands into consideration, relative to the restitution of Sédan, or for its indemnity. The Coadjutor refrained from pressing his own demands; but made application to Mazarin on behalf of Noirmoutier, and M. de Vitry. For the latter, he obtained the brevet of a duke; the Marquis de Noirmoutier was gratified by various grants, and by a small sum in money. No further graces could be extorted from Anne of Austria.

The conduct of the Coadjutor on the bursting of the last bubble of La Fronde was characteristic of that very astute personage. On retiring from the Hôtel Bouillon he went to his archiepiscopal residence, and spent the night, as he informs us, in moral, and profitable reflections. The result manifested itself by a visit which Gondy paid to his father, the Count de Joigny, who for many years had been a member of the Order of Oratorians; and who, never having countenanced his son's intrigues against the Queen, received with sincere satisfaction his assurance that he intended to promote the pacification, by retiring altogether from public affairs. Gondy thereupon retired to his palace, giving out that there he intended to remain in seclusion, occupying himself with the affairs of his diocese, until after the approaching season of Lent.

On the 31st of March, Molé returned from St. Germain, bearing the final ratification of the peace, as revised at the demand of the Chamber. On the 1st of April the Parliament voted thanks to the King and to the Queen Regent, that it had pleased them to grant peace to the realm, and gracious amnesty to the city of Paris. A vote was also carried, thanking M. de Conty for his condescensions; and for having contributed to the peace, and to the interests of the Parliament, and the city of Paris. The same afternoon, the Parliament ordained that peace should be proclaimed with pompous pageantry throughout the city; that the city guards should be removed from the gates of the town; that all taxes imposed by the Parliament should be remitted; and the armies of La Fronde dissolved—all things returning to the order in which they had been maintained, previous to the blockade.

The Archduke, meantime, disowned by the Parliament, and unsupported by Turenne and the German army, made precipitate retreat from Pont à Verre, in Champagne, back into Flanders.

There now only remained for the principal personages of the Fronde to undergo the disagreeable, and humiliating ordeal of a journey to St. Germain, to salute the Queen. Anne of Austria was not the princess to make this act of reconciliation easy, or smooth. Her Majesty was attending the services on Wednesday in Passion week, in the Chapel of St. Germain, when Le Tellier entered to announce that peace had been proclaimed in the capital. The Queen

continued her acts of devotion, and afterwards remained for many hours before the altar, in fervent prayer, and thanksgiving. The following week the visits to the court commenced; processions of the clergy of the metropolis, except the Coadjutor, arrived; the city guilds, the municipality, and a deputation from the minor Courts of the capital. The Queen received her repentant subjects, sitting under a canopy of state. The young King was present, standing at her right; on her left was Mazarin, whose courteous, pleased expression of countenance, and benevolent *empressement*, contrasted with the gravity, and distance of the Queen's demeanour. The Prince de Conty was the first of the late Generals who presented himself at court. He was introduced to the Queen by his brother Condé, in the presence of the council of state. Afterwards Condé led the Prince to Mazarin, who returned his embarrassed salute by a reverential obeisance. The same afternoon, the Duc d'Orleans presented the Duc d'Elbœuf; and M. de Conty introduced his late colleagues, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and M. de Maure. As MM. de Boulaye, de Vitry, and de Noirmoutier had made themselves specially obnoxious during the blockade, they asked and obtained a special act of amnesty; which was accompanied, however, by an intimation, that the Queen would defer seeing them until after the return of the court to the Palais Royal. The Duchesse de Bouillon was likewise led into the presence by the Princesse de Condé. Anne returned her low obeisance by a slight curtsey, but immediately addressed some great personage of the

suite. The Duc de Chevreuse also paid his respects; and asked the Queen to permit his wife, who had entered France, to reside in Paris. Anne replied that she could not suffer Madame de Chevreuse to inhabit a town yet pervaded with the spirit of mutiny, and rebellion; that the duchess had been guilty of cabals and disloyalty, so that she would not even tolerate her presence near the court, unless assured, by her future abstinence from intrigue, that she was truly penitent. "Madame, I will undertake to guarantee the future faithful loyalty of the duchess." Anne replied that she could not confide in his influence over Madame la Duchesse, seeing that on so many occasions it had failed. The duke, who had completed his eighty-fourth year, then cheerily told the Queen that Mademoiselle de Chevreuse his daughter, who had returned to France with her mother, was grown quite beautiful; and that her eyes were lovely enough to set the world on fire. Anne laughed; and ended the conversation by telling the duke that she perceived he was still too much swayed by beauty, but that she exhorted him to begin to contemplate Heaven and virtue.

The Duc de Longueville arrived a few days subsequently, and was presented to their Majesties by his brother-in-law, Condé. "When M. de Longueville arrived, every one approached to listen to what he said to the Queen; but he had not the audacity to open his lips, but turned first pale and then red, and in this emotion consisted his harangue. He saluted the Cardinal; and presently the two retired to a distant

window to converse."* The Duchesse de Longueville then deemed it time to make overtures. As she had passively submitted to the peace, she imagined that the Queen would give her cordial reception; but, like many other persons who flattered themselves that recent good deeds might efface Anne's first impressions of their conduct, the duchess found that her share in promoting the troubles on their commencement, was still bitterly remembered. She arrived with Mademoiselle de Longueville, her step-daughter. When they entered the Queen's chamber, Madame de Motteville and another lady, were only in attendance. Anne was reposing on her bed. Madame de Longueville approached, and bending down, kissed the Queen's hand, muttering some sentence, of which the word "Madame" could only be distinguished. Mademoiselle de Longueville stooped, and silently kissed the fringe of the counterpane. Chairs were then brought for the ladies, who seated themselves. The Queen said a few languid words, but soon relapsed into silence. Madame de Motteville, divining from the heightened colour on the duchess's fair cheek how sensitively she felt her disgrace, intervened, in defiance of every rule of etiquette, by putting the commonplace question of, at what hour she left Paris, and the time which had been consumed in driving to St. Germain? Madame de Longueville, thankful for any diversion, graciously responded; but soon afterwards took leave, and retired, very much piqued at her reception. The

* Mém. de Motteville, t. iii.

Duchesse de Nemours, though passing over her own share in this visit, states: "the Queen received Madame de Longueville coldly; the Cardinal paid her a visit only to have the opportunity of thanking her publicly for having been more favourable to him, than others of the faction; thinking by this acknowledgment to throw discredit on the duchess. M. le Prince never came to see his sister, and never offered to present her to the Queen, excusing himself on the fact that he was indisposed. Madame de Longueville complained so vehemently, that at length M. le Prince was compelled to visit her, but with his mouth and cheeks so swelled from violent cold, that the reality of his excuse could not be doubted. M. le Prince was charmed to be hated by the Parisians; and showed extreme delight that he had been able to persuade certain worthy nincompoops of Paris, that during the war he had feasted deliciously on the ears of all the fat burghers of Paris, captured, or slain in the skirmishes with his soldiers."

Gondy, meanwhile, not daring to quit his lair, the archiepiscopal palace, commissioned the Duc de Liancour to present his humble homage to the Queen, and to assure her that he was, and had been always, her faithful servant, and acknowledged her for his gracious mistress, and benefactress. Anne listened with disdainful air to this message; and desired M. de Liancour to inform M. le Coadjuteur, "that she disowned his homage and service, until he should have become the friend and ally of Cardinal Mazarin, who was her confidential minister; therefore, she expected

that persons, who, like M. le Coadjuteur, owed everything to the grace and bounty of the crown, should conform to her sentiments and commands in this matter!"

On the 13th of April, Queen Anne and her court, sweeping past the polluted and only half-repentant capital, quitted St. Germain-en-Laye, to spend the summer months at the palace of Compiègne.

CHAPTER III.

1649.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, MAZARIN, AND THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

THE seclusion and calm of the palace at Compiègne was soothing to the Queen's feelings, after the troubled turmoil of her residence at St. Germain. Anne was attended by an ample train of courtiers, amongst whom was Monsieur, and the Prince de Condé. Mazarin's two elder nieces, Laura Victoria Mancini, and the Contessa Anna Maria Martinozzi, adorned the royal circle, and became the cynosure of all the cavaliers of the court. By the Queen's desire, these, her fair young *protégées*, had been summoned from Pontoise, after the signature of the peace of Ruel, to pay their respects at St. Germain; and so delighted was Anne with their accomplishments and progress, that she invited them to accompany her to Compiègne. A brilliant future, great even as Mazarin could desire, was moreover, apparently opening for Laura Mancini: the Duc de Vendôme, impressed by the fortune of the minister, and by the constancy displayed in his cause by Anne of Austria, had again renewed the negotiations, com-

menced soon after the arrest of the Duc de Beaufort, for the marriage of his eldest son and heir, M. de Mercœur, with the Cardinal's niece. The duke's overtures were accepted with transport by Mazarin, and with gratified approval by the Queen. M. de Vendôme returned from his exile in Italy, in virtue of the amnesty of Ruel, proceeded at once to Compiègne to reconcile himself with the minister, to continue the negotiation, and to count the enormous benefits likely to be derived by himself and his son, from the step he meditated. The Duc de Mercœur was a young prince of great promise and principle, true, steadfast, living a life of retirement, study, and religious contemplation, caring little for military glory, and still less for a life of intrigue like that of his brother, the Duc de Beaufort. M. de Mercœur also visited Compiègne, to make acquaintance with his intended bride. The fair loveliness of the young Laura vanquished and took his heart by storm; and to Mazarin's delight, rendered him eager for the settlement of the alliance, which he had at first repudiated, as, in every respect, unworthy of his rank, and against his inclination. The character of Mademoiselle Mancini harmonized with that of her suitor: she was gentle, shy, somewhat sentimental, and preferred retirement to courtly pomp. Her education had been admirably cultivated; she was accomplished, and her modest and dignified deportment offered a pleasant contrast to the coquettish allurements of many of Anne's noble French maidens. Mazarin offered to restore to the Duc de Vendôme all privileges forfeited; to bestow upon him the post of lord high admiral—an

office claimed by the Prince de Condé—with the *survivance* of the same for M. de Beaufort; and to give his niece a sum of £200,000 sterling on her marriage-day—all this, in addition to other advantages promised by the Queen. Another grandson of Henri Quatre, likewise, offered himself to the fortunate Mazarin, and prayed for the fair hand of Marie Anne Martinozzi. The Duc de Candale, heir of Epernon,* declaring himself smitten by her charms, asked her of the Queen. The Duc d'Epernon wrote to the Cardinal, fully approving of his son's suit; and urging his Eminence to ratify the betrothal of the youthful pair. Mademoiselle Martinozzi, however, who had already been the betrothed bride of Prince Taddeo Barberini, was reserved for still more exalted destinies. She showed no predilection for her handsome young suitor, whose *escapades* and noisy valour, often disturbed the tranquil retreat of the Queen; while Mazarin, desirous of concluding the marriage of his eldest niece, and foreseeing the numerous difficulties likely there to intervene, excused himself from immediately accepting the overtures of the Duc d'Epernon, on account of the youth of his niece: he also stated that the Queen was about to send her back to Val de Grâce, to complete her education.

Condé, meanwhile, beheld these negotiations with profound resentment. He passionately declared, that after all his services, the Queen and Mazarin were per-

* Eldest son of the Duc d'Epernon by Gabrielle Angelique de Bourbon, daughter of Henri Quatre, and Madame de Vernueil. The Duke married for his second wife Marie Cambout de Coislin, daughter of the Marquis de Coislin. M. de Candale died unmarried in 1658, at the age of thirty.

fidiously seeking other allies: that the house of Vendôme had always been the hereditary enemy of that of Condé; and that M. de Vendôme sought the alliance of *la petite Mazarinette* to appropriate the post of high admiral, and to prevail, and to shine above the fortunes of the true princes of the blood! He expressed himself with the same vehemence respecting the proposals of M. de Candale; and declared that his motive in seeking Mazarin, was to confirm his father in his odious usurpation as governor of Guyenne. Condé, moreover, expressed himself in most outrageous terms of disrespect when speaking of the Cardinal's nieces. His ordinary term for the fair young girls was "*les harengères de M. de Mazarin*," or, "*les petites Mazarinettes.*" In public he treated Mademoiselle de Mancini with irritating contempt; or overwhelmed her with ironical homage. M. de Mercœur had a true heart and chivalrous honour; and the persecution of his *fiancée*, only made him resolve with deeper fervour to remain true to his engagement.

The day after the publication of the peace of Ruel, Condé had an interview with his sister, Madame de Longueville, at Chantilly, whither she had retired, irritated to the last degree by her reception at St. Germain. Her anger and disgust at the pacification were unbounded; she termed the peace "a shameful and cowardly truckling to the Parliament; a disgrace inflicted on the *noblesse*, and the citizens of Paris, by the princes of the blood, in their base and weak toleration of Mazarin." Her reproaches to Condé were tender, yet irritating. She represented that in espousing

the defence of the Cardinal, he had ruined himself, and his house. "See, Monsieur," exclaimed the duchess, "see what gratitude you have earned! Mazarin has already sought other protectors, other allies. MM. de Vendôme reconcile themselves at the expense of the house of Condé; the Admiralty, which you desire, M. de Vendôme obtains; the command in Guyenne, M. le Duc d'Epernon will retain, in spite of your remonstrances! The Pont de l'Arche, which was solemnly promised by the Queen on your demand for Monseigneur de Longueville, see whether you will obtain it!" Madame de Longueville then descanted on the high deeds of Condé; and irritated that high, and haughty spirit almost to desperation by her taunts, upon the comparative influence exercised over the Queen by himself, and Mazarin. Madame la Princesse, also, by her silence, contributed to the uneasy jealousies which at times almost maddened M. de Condé. True, in the main, to her old friend the Queen, Madame la Princesse was driven frantic by the proposed alliance between the house of Vendôme and the Cardinal: she thought, moreover, that Anne was cold towards her and abstracted; and that her Majesty had not sufficiently shown sympathy in the sorrow which overwhelmed her during the siege of Paris, relative to her erring children, Madame de Longueville, and Conty.* Condé, now that the excitement of actual antagonism between himself

* "Madame la Princesse-mère est à St. Germain," says the gossipping M. Guy Patin, "laquelle tient avec tout le reste de ce qu' est à la cour, si fort notre parti contre le Mazarin, que la reine lui en a fait querelle; et de là ces deux femmes, echauffées sur le Mazarin, se sont fait de beaux reproches l'une à l'autre."

and the lords of La Fronde was allayed by the treaty signed at Ruel, was a prey to indecision and jealousy; feeling that there was no sphere open for his rank, and pretensions. Loyal to his order, and faithful to the King, Condé found the command of every avenue of power usurped by the Cardinal; and his pride recoiled from sharing power with Mazarin, or to be, as the Queen proposed, "the support of the throne by his genius and *prestige*, and the strong arm to execute that which she, and the Cardinal devised." The principles of La Fronde, which would have opened wide its arms to M. le Prince, and bowed before him as general and legislator, Condé felt to be abhorrent. He also remembered that which all the other insurgent lords forgot—that the majority of Louis Quatorze approached; and that the present government was provisional. No true safety, or permanent honour, therefore, was to be obtained in defiance of the patronage, and friendship of Anne of Austria. At the suggestion of Madame de Longueville, Condé resolved to visit Paris, if only to contrast his own daring with Mazarin's pusillanimity in carrying off the Queen to Compiègne. Accordingly one day, he suddenly appeared, alone in his coach, without guards, attended by two footmen, in one of the most crowded *carrefours* of the capital. The people stared, as they recognised the well-known features of their late assailant; but admiring Condé's audacity, they cheered, as he proceeded to his hôtel—a manifestation which might be called enthusiastic, when, later in the day, the Prince paid Monsieur a visit at the Luxembourg. The reception of Monsieur by "his

deserted Parisians" had been triumphant; the people surrounded his coach, weeping in their joy to see again "their protector." Hours were consumed *en route* to the Luxembourg, the populace fairly taking possession of the duke, whose feet they kissed in their transports. The Parliament immediately deputed members to congratulate M. d'Orleans: it was also proposed that an address of welcome should be presented to M. de Condé, which, after much opposition, was carried by Mathieu Molé; who thought that the truest loyalty at this juncture was that, which propitiated every power, and every political creed. The Prince on the following day boldly went down to the Chamber, and took his seat. After this bravado, he returned to Compiègne, and renewed the daily objurgations in council, which made Anne declare, "that she was weary of her life." The Prince insisted upon being consulted on every trivial act of patronage: if the Cardinal spoke, he contradicted; and when the Queen, with whom final decision rested, chose, as she always did, to follow the counsel of her minister, Condé rose in a huff from the table, and disrespectfully quitted the chamber. To conciliate the Prince, the Queen, putting, as she declared, the strongest possible rein on her own opinion and resentment, consented to receive M. de Turenne; whom Condé, "to show his power, had promised the Duc de Bouillon should be received at Compiègne, despite his treasonable abandonment of the King's interests at a critical period." Turenne saw the Queen, being led in triumph to the royal presence by Condé himself, but was received almost in silence; while the young King,

who was standing by his mother's side, turned on his heel, and walked away—a slight which, however, was somewhat compensated by the pleasant greeting, and friendly grasp of Mazarin. The Cardinal attempted several explanations with his arrogant patron. He assured him that he would renounce the Vendôme alliance, although he had notified its speedy ratification to his Holiness, and to the chief courts of Europe; that nothing could be more cherished by him than Condé's good-will, as he appreciated the loyal sentiments of the Prince, and his patriotism; that the Prince, when the alliance with M. de Mercœur was mentioned to him by the Queen, had appeared satisfied; but, that as he found such not to be the case, he should renounce the marriage, and send his niece into a convent. Condé made ungracious reply, and abandoning that grievance, reproached the Cardinal for renewing his promise to la Rivière relative to the hat he demanded from Rome; and because Mazarin befriended Chavigny, whom the Prince hated—though no accusation could be more random and untrue than the latter. Mazarin, gliding over difficulties with his accustomed tact, then declared that he had been desired by her Majesty to offer to M. le Prince the command-in-chief in Flanders; where the Archduke had seized the towns of Yprès, Armentières, and Saint Venant, and was making progress towards the frontier. Condé curtly declined the command; saying, "that he was too fatigued to undertake such a command; that he desired repose, and intended to retire to Dijon to reflect; that the crisis was important, for that the house of Vendôme was the natural enemy

of that of Condé; and after all the services he had rendered, the Cardinal ought not to marry 'ces demoiselles' without his consent, and participation. He also understood that the Queen intended to recall M. d'Eméry, and to reinstate him over the finances, a plan of which he knew nothing, and disapproved." Mazarin again eagerly assured the Prince, that the alliance of Mademoiselle de Mancini and M. de Mercœur was at an end. Condé, however, suspected the facts of this rupture to be as they afterwards proved. The Queen saw the Duc de Vendôme, and explained to him the position of affairs, and the ill humour of M. le Prince; but desired him to wait, as the alliance should be accomplished, "let M. de Condé storm as he pleased;" while the Duc de Mercœur made the most tender vows to his golden-haired *fiancée*, of whom he was now deeply enamoured. Condé, therefore, precipitately quitted the court for Dijon; after holding, in passing through Paris, a grand family council, in which all the children of Madame la Princesse, united in league, engaging to help each other, to defy "*le bateleur*," and to bring M. le Prince to the head of affairs during the minority. The unfortunate temper of M. de Condé, however, militated against his political success; while braving the court, he equally exasperated the leaders of La Fronde, by his haughty disdain; speaking of M. de Beaufort as a "great, swaggering, blustering booby, fit only to govern such deities as Mesdames de la Halle." The Prince, on departing, ordered M. Lenet, the confidential and devoted servant of his family, to inform M. le Cardinal, that no concord could exist

between them until the Vendôme alliance was utterly, and finally declined.*

Great was the relief and joy at Compiègne when the court was relieved of the oppressive presence of Condé. The Queen breathed freely, and became gracious instead of moody; the Cardinal applied himself to state affairs with his usual ability, and, showing himself equal to sustain the adieux of M. le Prince, gave the command of the Flemish army to M. d'Harcourt, and sent him to besiege Cambray. M. d'Eméry came back, and quietly took his old seat at the council-board, much to the relief of M. de la Meilleraye, whose gout, and favourite avocations rendered his financial duties more than irksome. The Duke de Mercœur now tranquilly strolled in the shady alleys and glades of the forest of Compiègne, side by side with Laura Mancini, drinking in her fascinations; and comparing the melody of her voice and language "to the sweet warbling of a nightingale." The cavaliers hunted, danced, fished with the King in the ponds and lakes of Compiègne, and rode with his Majesty, whose youthful brow was less clouded, and his voice merrier, than of yore. The principal friends of Mazarin, then at Compiègne, were the Duc de Candale, and M. de Jarzé.† This last-named personage affected notable admiration for Queen Anne; and was often talked to by the Queen, who laughed at his puns,

* Mém. de Lenet, t. i.

† The four wits of the court were the Marquis de Jarzé, the Prince de Guiméné, the Count de Lude, and M. de Beautru. Jarzé was from Anjou; his father was Réné du Plessis Marquis de Jarzé, and his mother Catherine de Beaumanoir, daughter of the Marshal de Laverdan.

and commended his skill as a narrator of witty stories. He pleased Mazarin by his skill at a game called *La Bauchette,* in which his Eminence indulged as a pastime after dinner. Jarzé, however, gave himself all the airs and sentimental graces of a man consumed by a secret passion: he serenaded her Majesty, wore her colours,* wrote verses in her honour, and made himself notorious for the abusive epithets which he lavished on the chieftains of La Fronde for their daring defiance of the most peerless of princesses—for which *escapade* M. de Jarzé speedily came to grief.

In Paris, meantime, the state of affairs was not satisfactory; and portended a speedy rupture of the armistice, which the great vassals of the crown had pronounced to be "a miserable truckling to the Parliament, and a notable dishonour to their order." All the great lords had quitted Paris, carrying their disaffection and revolutionary designs into the provinces, where they were received and harboured by his Majesty's lieutenants favourable to their cause. Only the near allies and kinsmen of Gondy remained in Paris, comprising the Ducs de Beaufort, de Retz, de Brissac, de Laigues, MM. de Noirmoutier, Montrèsor, de la Mothe, and de Fontraille. Gondy, firm in his refusal to see Mazarin, still declined to visit the Queen, in which he was imitated by M. de Beaufort. Though apparently resigned to the treaty of Ruel, Gondy was alive to every flux and reflux of his cause. Dropping incidentally here a word, and there a word, he industriously kept alive the virulence of faction.

* Black and yellow.

Agreed with the Duchesse de Longueville that M. de Condé must and should eventually espouse their cause, he intrigued to widen the misunderstanding between the Prince and Mazarin,—but every act and word was carefully poised, so as to mark his deference for the Parliament, in alliance with which he intended only to agitate. The Archduke had offered the Coadjutor a large sum of money after the Peace of Ruel as a mark of amity, and future favour. Gondy refused the bribe, saying, although it was his misfortune to be at variance with the first minister of the French crown, his resentment would never carry him to the excess of making alliance with the enemies of the King, unless driven thereto by personal danger. The demonstrations in Paris were therefore now limited to excessive license in speech, to public abuse of the Regent, to noisy promenades made by M. de Beaufort throughout the city followed by a mob of rabble, and to convivial banquets and speeches against the government holden at the hôtels of the various chieftains. "We shall be glad to see again the King and Queen," writes M. Guy Patin; "but it is true we hate le Mazarin horribly; and I think if he is wise he will not venture hither. The princes of the blood protect him only to gobble him up one day themselves. The Queen, we are told, is beginning to be aware of the fault which she committed in blockading Paris; it has cost her more trouble than to any besides, and she will never attempt it again. Le Mazarin is her misfortune and her demon, and ours also, in consequence. I love him as I love the devil, and hold him to be, *merus nebulo*,

a scoundrel, a *pantalon rouge*, a swindler, and a cheat. Nevertheless, if we had succeeded in hunting him down, we should not be much better off; for we shall see nothing but evil in the realm until M. de Condé changes his politics. The said Prince is a dangerous comrade, for he is the cause of all that has befallen us. He first gave his word to the Parliament, and then abandoned us for Mammon, instead of wringing the neck of that rascal Mazarin, and restoring honour and happiness to France. The King and Queen remain at Compiègne. The Archduke Leopold has bombarded Yprès; and it is said that le Mazarin and his Captain of the Guard M. le Prince, are to meet in conference at La Fère, to receive the Spanish envoy, the Conde di Penerañda, to discuss articles of peace." While the good burghers of Paris thus eased their rancour in correspondence, the letters of Louis's noble lieges, written in Paris, if more polished, were not less edifying. The Marquis de Noirmoutier wrote thus to M. de Conty, who was with his mother at Chantilly, strictly guarded by her vigilance. After raving at the weakness and imbecility of Mathieu Molé, he continues:—"If you cannot, even now, resolve to stir up the populace against the Parliament which has betrayed us, at least, Monseigneur, put yourself at the head of your regiment, and come out to Ferté Milon. The Archduke makes us the offer to join us at Lambesc with 30,000 soldiers, and to furnish M. de Longueville with a fleet and with money. For the love of fame, and of renown, do not hesitate! All the towns of your government of Champagne will open their gates,

and admit you, and your allies."* The Duchesse de Longueville wrote to applaud the Marquis and his energy; she deplores *cette malheureuse paix*; assures him of the support of M. de Conty; and conjures him to proceed in the honourable path which he had adopted.† The Duc de Beaufort, not being a ready scribe, confided his written effusions to the lighter pen of Madame de Montbazon; who, being a vain and avaricious woman, allows the fact to be too transparent, that the allegiance of *le Roi des Halles* might be bought for benefits, and lucrative court charges. Volleys of indecent songs against the Queen, and Mazarin again inundated the streets—the Muse of history was even impressed in their service by the Cardinal's unscrupulous foes, and a pamphlet was published, entitled: "*Chronologie des Reines Malheureuses par l'insolence de leur Favoris; dediée à la Reine-Regente pour lui servir d'example et de miroir.*" ‡ The stories of the lives of Olympia, Lucretia, Queen Juana of Naples, Isabel de Bavière, Anne Boleyn, the Empress Messalina, and many others, are there arrayed,—a black page, in its odious comparisons, which its malignant author hoped would wring the proud heart of Anne of Austria. Another squib was called: "*L'Apparition Epouvantable de l'esprit du Marquis d'Ancre, venu par ambas-*

* MS. Bibl. Imp. de Béth. 9353, fol. 228.

† Ibid, fol. 109.

‡ A fine copy of this satire was sold by auction the other day in Paris at the sale of the great library of the late M. Techener of Paris. The libel was published by Claude Merlot, rue de la Boucherie, ann. 1649.

sade à Jules Mazarin." A libel was published against Condé, which threw that sensitive person into transports of passion, and alienated him still more from the upholders of La Fronde. Two or three occurrences at this season in Paris, caused the Queen exquisite annoyance—more so, than the whole *posse* of seditious libels. An empty baggage-van, bearing the blazon of Mazarin, was sent into Paris by the Porte St. Honoré, to test the peaceable spirit, which, the Cardinal was told, prevailed. A furious mob assembled, and before the van reached the Palais Mazarin it was shattered into a thousand fragments. Another evening, subsequently, the Duc de Brissac and MM. de Matha and de Fontrailles, returning late from some revel, met two of the Queen's footmen, wearing the royal livery. The sight of the royal colours roused the drunken ire of those personages; and they fell upon the men, cruelly beating them, while exclaiming, in reply to remonstrances from some people passing along the streets, "that Kings were no longer the fashion, and that the old respect for them was a thing of the past." Anne wept tears of rage when informed of this outrage. She sent for one of the men assaulted, and heard his story with compassionate attention. Afterwards, she wrote to Molé, and ordered him to lay a criminal information, and to commit to prison the authors of the assault. Monsieur, also, was much scandalised: he declined to receive the Duc de Brissac and his boon companions; and summoned deputies from the Parliament and the municipality, to whom he spoke with much force and wisdom, telling the magistrates that if they desired

speedily to see the King again, such outrages must be repressed, and the libellers of Queen Anne prosecuted and punished. Parties of cavaliers from Compiègne, meantime, were in the habit of frequently visiting Paris, in order that on their return they might entertain their friends, by amusing relations; or adorn themselves with momentary importance by repeating some notable bravado which they had offered to La Fronde. M. de Jarzé was especially remarkable for his boastful relations of prowess. He told the Queen that his presence always scared the Marquis de la Boullaye; while even M. de Beaufort had vanished from the *pavé* on seeing him advance. These boastings soon echoed back to Paris, and occasioned great irritation. The Coadjutor thought it requisite to take the matter up; because, says he, "it is dangerous to allow one's enemies to say, or to act before others in a manner which must be offensive to ourselves, inasmuch as it will be believed that weakness alone makes us tolerant." It was therefore suggested by Gondy that the Duc de Beaufort should present himself before the arrogant young courtiers upon their next visit to the capital, and charge M. de Jarzé with his insulting boasts; and afterwards forbid him to show his face again in Paris, under pain of being thrown into the Seine. It was customary for the young cavaliers on the occasion of their visits to sup on the terrace of the Jardin Regnard, to toast the Cardinal with ringing cheers, and to sing songs celebrating the discomfiture of La Fronde. MM. de Candale, de Jarzé, de St. Maigrin, de Jars, de Boulainville, de Môret,

and de Souvré, therefore, after the lapse of a few days, made a journey to Paris in jovial humour, and prepared to enjoy any adventure to the uttermost. After parading Paris for some hours, they repaired to the Jardin Regnard to sup. While the cavaliers were washing their hands, and sauntering on the terrace, and around the table, which was already spread with viands, they perceived M. de Beaufort strutting at the head of a party of cavaliers, and advancing towards them, his white *panache* floating jauntily in the evening breeze. The cavaliers waited until Beaufort and his troop had passed, before seating themselves at table. The duke in his flurry forgetting the prudent instructions of the Coadjutor, advanced, and slightly saluting the company, rudely said, "Messieurs, you are supping early!" De Jars replied, that they were preparing to do so. "With better appetite, I hope, than the square caps (the Parliament) might graze, as M. de Jarzé threatened,"* retorted Beaufort, hurriedly. Then seizing the corner of the table-cloth, he said, "that there were people in the company who had insolently boasted that they had compelled him to turn, and go out of his way to avoid them; that such an assertion was false, and that to teach the company better manners he would send them to sup elsewhere!" So saying, the duke snatched the cloth from the table, overthrowing the wine, and all the viands prepared.† The cavaliers

* Jarzé one day, when the Parliament marched to the Palais Royal to see the Queen, said to her Majesty that if she would consent, "qu'il ferait bientôt paître tous ces bonnets carrés!"

† De Retz, Mém.; Mém. de Monglât, La Rochefoucauld. "L'on coiffer

drew their swords, and a combat in earnest ensued. With the Duc de Beaufort were Brissac, Vitry, Fontrailles, and others. M. de Jarzé was seized, and punished by sundry severe sword pricks; the *mêlée* became general, and a scene of dire confusion ensued. M. de Beaufort, presently seeing M. de Candale, approached, and apologised for the fray; saying, "that he meant not to attack or to molest him, and begged him to withdraw." The young duke, however, was flaming with wrath, and bitterly rejected excuses, saying that M. de Beaufort should hear from him. The cavaliers at length made their escape from Paris, much discomfited and irate, and on the following morning laid their case before their royal mistress. Anne had received their parting salutations with a foreboding of evil. "Ah, messieurs," exclaimed she, "beware! Be wise and be cautious, and you will do well." Endless challenges, and judicial proceedings ensued. M. de Beaufort refused to fight without the walls of Paris; but, in the midst of the altercations, he was seized with sudden indisposition. It was thereupon reported in Paris that the duke had been poisoned by "*les Mazarins*." Crowds went in procession all day long to the Hôtel de Vendôme to inquire after his health. The people knelt before the altars and shrines, imploring that his life might be spared; in short, the excitement was so great that a seditious outbreak was anticipated, which might have been fatal to many persons friendly to the

d'un potage le pauvre Vinéville, qui n'en pouvait pas d'avantage. Le pauvre commandeur de Jars eut le même sort."—Mém. de Retz.

court.* The duke, however, quickly recovered, and the topic of the scuffle in the Jardin Regnard again occupied everybody. Anne laid her commands that no duels should be fought; she personally requested the Duc de Candale to return to Verneuil, the residence of his mother, the Duchesse d'Epernon; and ordered that the matter should be referred for adjudication to four Marshals of the realm, and to Monsieur. The Queen, having settled this feud with her usual sagacity, proceeded with her son to Amiens, where the Cardinal had been sojourning to superintend the affairs of the war. The siege of Cambray was raised, to the intense disgust of Mazarin, M. d'Harcourt having failed in preventing the relief of the besieged garrison by the Archduke. This reverse, however, was soon repaired. The towns of Condé, and Maubeuge were re-captured by d'Harcourt, who passed the river l'Escaut, and penetrated into the very heart of the Low Countries. The Queen returned to Compiègne at the end of June, having been absent about a fortnight, leaving Mazarin at Amiens intent on the progress of the campaign. The Coadjutor, meantime, aware that the return of the court to Paris could not long be delayed, and wishing to derive some credit for having influenced that movement, resolved to make an overture to the Queen. He therefore wrote, and proposed to pay his respects to

* "Tandis que le mal a duré les prêtres mêmes ont gagné à dire des messes pour sa santé, et s'il en fut mort je pense que de toutes les créatures Mazarinesques, pas une n'en fut échappée, et même notre premier president, qui est suspect, et déplait à plusieurs. Je plains les grands qui sont obligés de ceder et d'abaisser leur grandeur au caprice d'un Pantalon botté, tel qu'est ce malencontreux et malheureux Mazarin, *a cujus furore libera nos Domine!*" —Lettres de Guy Patin, Lettre 203.

her Majesty, provided that he was not expected to visit M. de Mazarin. Anne had great trust in her own power of persuasion; moreover, affairs were in so unpleasant a predicament respecting Condé, that the Queen had formed certain projects and plans of her own, which she for the present carefully concealed. She, therefore, replied by accepting Gondy's proposition. Much to the alarm, therefore, of the Coadjutor's friends, he announced his journey to the court, and steadily persisting therein, left Paris on the 8th of July. That night he slept at the château of the Duc de Liancour, and was at Compiègne the following morning in time to attend her Majesty's *lever*. Anne gave pleasant greeting to her subtle opponent; while Gondy, ever fluent and plausible, delighted the Queen by his assurances, "that despite the rude disaffection of the populace, her return was ardently desired." A long private audience ensued: Gondy always angling for some expression of trust on the part of her Majesty—Anne ever eager to recommend her minister. Much persuasion, therefore, the Queen used to induce the Coadjutor to visit his Eminence, who had unexpectedly, she said, returned for a few days to Compiègne. Gondy declares that he set his face like adamant against the Queen's request; asserting that, for her Majesty's own sake, he must persist in his denial, as, were it known that he had visited the Cardinal, he should lose credit, and power to assist the royal cause. M. Guy Joly, Gondy's great confidant, however, asserts positively that the Coadjutor did confer with Mazarin; and that the interview took

place in the dead of the night, and lasted for four hours.* Anne's next visitor at Compiègne was the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who had profited by the amnesty to return to France, without first seeking permission from the Queen. Anne was at first incensed at her presence in Paris, and had refused to sanction it at the request of M. de Chevreuse. Subsequently, a *lettre de cachet* was sent, ordering Madame de Chevreuse to quit the kingdom. To the Coadjutor the duchess applied in her distress—for Gondy, smitten by the charms of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, had elevated her to that chief place in his confidence hitherto reserved for the Duchesses de Longueville, and de Montbazon. He, therefore, pretending a virtuous indignation at the violation of the celebrated Article de Sureté of the Declaration of 24th of October, appealed to Mathieu Molé to obtain the revocation of the order. Molé's vigilance had not slumbered; friend or foe was to be benefited alike by that hardly-wrung concession, and he had already remonstrated with the court on its arbitrary order. "*Eh bien, mon bon Seigneur, vous ne voulez pas qu'elle part—et elle ne partira pas!*"† replied Molé, ironically (who always thus attacked the Coadjutor, whom he hated), exhibiting a letter from Mazarin, annulling the decree of banishment against the duchess. Delivered from exile, which she now dreaded more than death, Madame de Chevreuse bethought herself that Anne

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii.; Mém. de Guy Joly; Lettres de M. Guy Patin, Lettre 208.

† Mém. de Retz, t. ii., liv. 3.

was not the princess to submit quietly to so open a disrespect, and defiance. If banished from the court, and from every festive ceremony honoured by the presence of her Majesty, life, she declared, was not worth the purchase. She, therefore, wrote humbly to the Queen, pretending that the zeal of MM. de Molé and de Gondy had surpassed her desire; and that, wishing to testify her obedience and reverence, she was about to retire to Dampierre, and to submit to voluntary exile until the gracious word of her still beloved mistress recalled her to joy, and to the world. Thus mollified, and believing that no one once enthralled by her influence and friendship ever again became thoroughly hostile, Anne pondered, and at length decided upon granting her ex-favourite the interview solicited. The nerves of the duchess had been shaken by recent illness, and anxiety; and so fearful was she still of arrest, that before venturing to Compiègne she requested the President Molé—who was believed to have great power over the Queen's mind, and was also considered to be the loyal champion of freedom—to promise, on his word of honour, that no harm should befall her. Molé, whom the Queen highly esteemed, wrote to her Majesty, praying her to tranquillize the mind of her penitent servant by an express declaration of *bienveillance*. Anne, gratified by the wholesome fear which she had established in the mind of Madame de Chevreuse, gave the promise requested; and, moreover, sent M. le Tellier to escort the duchess to Compiègne. Madame de Chevreuse, therefore, appeared at the palace accompanied by her

blooming daughter. Anne received her formally, as a repentant rebel, attended by the Cardinal, and the ministers. The Queen's manner was kind, and encouraging; but she withheld the royal salute on the cheek, which the duchess had been once privileged to claim, in virtue, not of her rank, but of her favour. "The Queen wished," says Madame de Motteville, "to show to Madame de Chevreuse, by this little omission of favour, that she felt, and was still sensible of all the harm she had sought to inflict." The Queen listened to the apologies of her old friend indulgently, but with a certain air of gravity, and restraint. Anne was shocked at the ravages which time, and hard exile had imprinted on the once radiant face; and exclaimed, when the duchess had retired from the presence, "that in looks and manner she was no longer Madame de Chevreuse, and that she thought her as much altered in appearance as she felt herself to be mentally changed towards the said duchess."* The Queen, however, was satisfied, and assured as to the future of Madame de Chevreuse, *frondeuse*, though she had declared herself to be in heart. The duchess eventually re-established her old privileges of access to the palace at all reasonable hours. Anne no longer confided to her state secrets; but it was observed that she liked to hear the opinion of the duchess, who had contrived to school herself to that pitch of moderation so as to declare her thoughts to her royal mistress, when requested, without petulance, or over-eager advocacy.

* Motteville, ann. 1649; de Retz, t. ii. ann. 1649.

A ferment in Paris, meantime, now raged at the continued absence of the court.* M. de Beaufort, tired of his *rôle*, and somewhat impaired in health and pocket, retired to a small house in the Rue Quincampoix, and accepted the office of churchwarden of the parish of St. Eustache; which, as it had been assumed during the wars of the Holy League by M. de Mayenne, was considered to be an office which conferred some political honour.

The loyal members of the Chamber were taunted by their democratic brethren at their want of influence in high quarters; and at the resentment still shown by the Queen, whom they described as so placable in temper.† The shopkeepers murmured at the utter stagnation of trade; and at the long lines of mansions and palaces closed and uninhabited by their owners. The leaders of the Fronde were even anxious for the return of the court: Anne of Austria, in her sylvan retreat, was impervious to their anger, and sheltered from their cunning plots. The citizens grumbled, and declared that a republic like England was better than the dull routine of municipal government; and that the monarchy must be growing too old if it could not support itself in its capital. Meetings were convened and addresses agreed upon to the Queen, to invite her

* "Le roi, la reine, et Mazarin, et toute la cour, qui n'est pas fort grosse, sont à Compiègne ; on dit qu'ils seront tout ce mois qui vient et puis après qu'ils s'en iront à Fontainebleau. Je doute fort si la reine reviendra à Paris, qu'elle hait si fort, qu'elle a dit qu'elle aimeroit mieux perir que d'y revenir ; aussi pourrat-il arriver que jamais elle n'y rentrera."—Lettres de Guy Patin, Lettre, 208.

† "Mais au vrai, elle est méchante diablesse!" exclaimed M. de Blancménil.

return. The Prince de Condé, meanwhile, having quitted Dijon, now repaired with his brother Conty to Compiègne, having promised to represent the desire of the capital, and to support it by his own influence.* This overture was followed by a grand ambassage from the Hôtel de Ville of the entire corporation. MM. de la Ville arrived at Compiègne on the 22nd of July, and were received with pompous welcome, and banquettings. The following day Anne granted them audience in the throne-room at Compiègne. Her Majesty was magnificently attired, and wore her famous diamonds. Around the throne stood Mazarin, MM. de Condé and and de Conty, all the ministers of state, ladies and gentlemen of the chamber. Under a daïs stood Anne of Austria; by her side was the young King, upon whose shoulder one of her hands lovingly rested. The members entered two and two, headed by M. Féron, the Queen's right worthy Prévôt des Marchands, when, all kneeling before the throne, the latter commenced a moving remonstrance on the weary length of the King's absence from his capital. The concluding paragraph was one very flattering to Anne of Austria, but scarcely deserved—"Madame, we hope for the grace we solicit through your intercession. Deign to persuade our gracious prince to return, and gladden us with his presence, you, who are not only the greatest of queens but a princess, gentle, compassionate, and liberal; who has always preferred to rule over our hearts, and to

* Lenet met the Prince at Melun on his return, by desire of Mazarin. To the Cardinal's pacific message the Prince replied, "Que le Cardinal était un bon fourbe, qui voulait le tromper."—Mém. de Lenet, ann. 1649.

wear the crown of virtue, rather than the diadem of power!"* Anne replied—"The King, M. mon Fils, willingly accepts the submission of the citizens of his good city of Paris, which is an abode he loves, and prefers. There needs not, therefore, my persuasion to induce him to return. For myself, I desire greatly this consummation: the city may be convinced, therefore, that as soon as the King's affairs permit we will return. Meantime, I request the magistrates of Paris to provide for the tranquillity of the city, and for its orderly police and security; and when such has been done, I promise to advise his Majesty to visit Paris, and to forget, and pardon the past!"†

The cold and cautious reply of the Queen chilled the hearts of the Parisians. Féron and his company brought back the rumour that the Queen never intended to return during her regency; and that the Duc d'Orleans had been sent by her to make a survey of the castle of Blois, and to report whether it could accommodate the court. This report caused another frantic rush to Compiègne, consisting of three hundred members of the trade guilds of Paris, to supplicate the Queen to return. A loyal cutler, on his knees, pronounced the address, with tears, and much gesticulation. Anne sternly replied, "that when the city of Paris had purified itself from slanderers and rebels, then the King would think of returning." The president, Mathieu

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Archives de Royaume, cotté 32e.

† Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; Gazette de France, ann. 1649; Le Courier Français, ann. 1649; Lettres de Guy Patin,—a most amusing and important compilation, as M. Patin, besides being a leading physician of the capital, was a hot politician, and learned in all foreign lore.

Molé, at length, went to see the Queen, disturbed by these rumours: he assured her Majesty that all libellers had been prosecuted, and promised to prevent the sale of the defamatory lampoons on Mazarin. Anne, however, was in no hurry to exchange her abode:* M. de Condé had returned in a conciliatory mood, and pretended to be pleased at the Cardinal's overtures to him through M. Lenet, and that real dissension had arisen, between M. de Mercœur, and his Eminence, relative to M. de Beaufort, whom his brother supported; saying, "that the boasts of that chattering fool Jarzé were more than any honourable man could endure; and that he had been rightly punished during the uproar in the Jardin Régnard."

The Queen at length saw the policy of consenting to return to Paris: M. de Condé was in good humour, which might not last, and offered to escort the court; while financial deficits embarrassed Mazarin's administration, which the Parliament obstinately refused to consider, unless the King returned to his capital. On the 8th of August, Anne therefore wrote to Molé, to announce this joyous resolution. Very sedulous were the members of the High Court in their survey of the Palais Royal, so as to remove from the eye of the Queen any vestige of past disloyalty. On the 12th of August M. Sainctot arrived, with a large household staff, to prepare the palace for their majesties. Bonfires then blazed on the Grève, and the Hôtel de Ville was illuminated. On the three succeeding days, the

* M. d'Orleans never ceased to implore her Majesty to make the concession, and many high words passed between his Royal Highness, and Mazarin.

great officers of state arrived, and the dismal iron shutters were then taken from the windows of many of the great mansions, to the delight of the people. Merry peals rang from the churches; and by a refinement of courtesy, very much appreciated by her Majesty—the Parliament ordered all the chains hanging from staples at the *embouchures* of the streets, as was then customary, to be carried out of sight, lest unpleasant reminiscences of La Journée des Barricades should mar the Queen's satisfaction, and serenity.

Their majesties left Compiègne on the 17th of August, accompanied by the Cardinal Mazarin, MM. de Condé and Conty, the Princess of Condé, and the little Monsieur d'Anjou. Anne slept that night at Senlis; and the following day, after dining at Bourget, the royal *cortège* approached the gates of Paris. A league from the town their majesties were met by the Duc de Montbazon, escorted by three hundred archers; by M. Féron and the municipality of Paris; and by five hundred of the wealthiest and most notable citizens on horseback, in gala costume. The King and his mother occupied the front seat of the coach: behind were Madame la Princesse, and Mademoiselle; opposite to their Majesties were Monsieur, and the little Duc d'Anjou, and at the doors of the coach, on one side, sat M. de Mazarin, and on the other, M. de Condé. The royal progress through the Faubourg St. Denis was an ovation: the people cheered, crying, "*Voilà le Mazarin!*" and gazed upon the Cardinal as if some wonderful power resided in the physiognomy of a man so decried. At the Porte St. Denis, as the royal

coach rolled through, a great discharge of cannon announced the event to the more distant quarters of the city. "We were eight in the Queen's coach," writes Mademoiselle, irritably; "we were from twelve till eight o'clock at night on the road from Bourget to Paris—two short leagues. The heat was unbearable, and the crowd terrible. The cries of *Vive le Roi!* were continual." The Cardinal sat in stately serenity at the window, frequently bowing to the people. "Some people remarked that he was handsome; others held out their hands, assuring him that they liked him; others, again, cried out that they would drink to his health, and that they had been deceived respecting him." As the evening darkened, hundreds of flambeaux lighted the streets, and the triumphal procession passed slowly onwards towards the Luxembourg, heralded by *fanfarronades* of trumpets, and the clash of kettledrums. The *façade* of the Luxembourg flamed forth with a gigantic illumination of *Vive le Roi!* as the royal coach passed; and huge barrels of wine were tapped, flagons of which were offered to all passers.* Condé, who hated the rabble, sat looking on in calm contempt at the capricious populace who gave such reception to the minister and his patroness, whom the day previously, no libel seemed dark enough to decry. Anne of Austria did not seek to disguise her surprise at so unexpected a reception; she observed,

* L'arrivée de leurs Majestés, et la cordiale reception qui leur à été faite en cette ville de Paris, Août, 1649 (pamphlet); Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville; De Retz; Motteville; Montglât; Duchesse de Nemours; Gazette de France, ann. 1649; Courier de France, ann. 1649; Siri, Mercure Français, t. iii.; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin, t. ii.

"that the people, when not misled, were faithful to their princes; and that she should for the future rely more implicitly on the fidelity, and good feeling of the populace."

At length the Palais Royal was reached, and Queen Anne alighted, amid deafening cheers. Its splendid halls blazed with lights, and with gorgeously jewelled ladies, who pressed round the Queen, and her fair young son, with hearty acclamation. Every person of note in Paris, Frondeur or Mazarin, was present. The Queen, with the majesty and grace for which she was celebrated, turned to Condé, her eyes moist with emotion, and elevating her voice so as to be heard by all, she said, "Monsieur, you have nobly fulfilled your promise to bring back your King, and his honoured minister to Paris. Monsieur, this said service is so infinite, that the King, and also myself, must be guilty of great ingratitude, if we ever forget this your noble deed. I thank you in my own name, and in that of the King!"* Madame de Chevreuse then glided forwards, and, kneeling, kissed her Majesty's hand. The Duc d'Orleans next appeared, leading M. de Beaufort, who first saluted the King, and then complimented Queen Anne, entreating her to believe in his fidelity. Beaufort blushed awkwardly, looking askance at the Cardinal, whom, through Madame de Montbazon, he had foolishly stipulated not to "be obliged to notice, or even to greet." "Monsieur," replied the Queen, sharply, "your future conduct will prove the best guarantee for your present assertions." Monsieur,

* Mém. de M. de la Rochefoucald; Gazette de France; Lettres de Guy Patin, a spectator of the scene, lettre 210.

seeing the mood of the Queen, then hurriedly carried off M. de Beaufort, saying "that the Queen was tired, and desired privacy." During this ceremonial, the vivas and cheers of the crowd outside continued. Anne, however, worn out with fatigue, curtseyed, and retired. Long-suppressed tears of emotion and excitement fell from her eyes as she entered the old familiar chambers, and she wept passionately. Her ladies, after compelling her to eat a morsel, disrobed her; Anne then entered her oratory, and knelt in prayer before its altar. She then flitted round *sa petite chambre grise*, visited the King's apartments, talked joyously to her women,* and retired to repose, to strengthen herself for the long, and tedious ceremonials of the morrow.

Early the following afternoon, the Coadjutor, at the head of all the clergy of the capital, came to compliment, and harangue their Majesties. Madame de Motteville, who was in waiting, asserts that Gondy looked pale and nervous, and that his lips trembled while speaking the address. Doubtless, the occasion was deeply mortifying, especially after the mad welcome given to Anne of Austria on the preceding day by his *protégés*, the "*canaille* of the sections." Anne remarked with joy the emotion of the Coadjutor; and when the procession departed from the presence-chamber, she whispered to Madame de Motteville, asking her whether she had observed M. le Coadjuteur? "What a fine thing a good conscience is! The shame

* "La reine nous conta tous les douceurs que les lavandières, les ravadeuses, et les femmes du Halle avaient dites à son ministre."

which M. le Coadjuteur shows in our presence gives me pleasure—I ought even to say pride. His evident compunction is, however, very flattering to M. le Cardinal." Madame de Motteville states that Gondy never once glanced at the Cardinal, who stood behind the Queen's chair. His trouble, however, seems to have been genuine, as the following day he was too ill, or too angry, to officiate at the grand Te Deum chanted in Nôtre Dame. The Parliament of Paris, accompanied by deputies from all the Courts, were next admitted to audience; afterwards, the municipal council, and the heads of the University of Paris. The day but one following, King Louis rode in procession through the streets of the capital, and made offerings on the altar of the church dedicated to St. Louis, in the Rue St. Antoine. Mazarin, now completely reassured as to his personal safety, drove thither to meet the King, without guards, or attendants. He paid a visit to the Jesuit monastery *en route*. As he was quitting the convent, a beggar pushed forwards and asked alms. The Cardinal gave bountiful relief, and the man, quite unconscious who the personage was whom he had addressed, exclaimed, "*Par ma foi, Monseigneur, vous êtes un galant homme, et point du tout Mazarin!*"*

The last of these feverish demonstrations awaited the Queen when she went to attend Saturday mass at Nôtre Dame: a troop of market-women and others, waylaid the royal equipages as they crossed the Pont Neuf, shouting *vivas* for the Queen. They surrounded the coach in the Marché Neuf, gazing upon her Majesty

* Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin.

with apparent delight, and showering benedictions upon her head. "Each of these furies persisted in touching her attire," relates Madame de Motteville, "so that her Majesty narrowly escaped from having her clothes torn from her back. They shouted all at once, that they were very glad to see her again, and begged her pardon for the past, with tears and howlings." Gondy was the last to made *amende* for the past, by paying a visit to Mazarin. The Queen at length spoke out; and when Anne did so, there was no gainsaying her will. Through M. de Condé, she informed the Coadjutor that he must submit to the authority of her minister, or resign his Coadjutorship; also that the Archbishop of Paris elect must not presume, for the future, to domineer over the first minister of the crown! Gondy, therefore, resigned himself to the present condition of affairs, paid the visit imposed, and received a very satisfactory, and cordial greeting. Hostile demonstrations, nevertheless, were not quite forsaken by the lords of La Fronde. "M. de Beaufort and I," writes the Coadjutor, "paraded Paris, sometimes attended by one page only behind our coach; another day we made a grand *sortie*, accompanied by a hundred gentlemen on horseback, and we had fifty lacqueys and running footmen surrounding our equipages." The strange indecision of M. de Condé prevented the government from putting down the lingering remnants of the past anarchy. A despot at heart, Condé found the Queen to be a princess after his own heart; while he hated La Fronde for its enterprises on the royal power, and the plebeian Parliament for its

audacity in seeking to control the prerogative. Torn by his hate of Mazarin, to whom he refused to be subordinate, and by the urgent representations of the Duchesse de Longueville, Condé passed his time in miserable indecisions; during which his adversary, aided by the friendship of Monsieur, and the beauty of his nieces, was hourly establishing his power. "Ask the Cardinal to fulfil his promise, and give to Monseigneur, Pont de l'Arche!" exclaimed the subtle duchess; "if you obtain it, I renounce my enmity!" This appeal for the fulfilment of a promise which Mazarin, and the Queen had, in truth, authorised the Prince to make in their great need, before the signature of the treaty of Ruel, was a test which Condé agreed to apply. Accordingly, the prince went to Mazarin, and in his usual imperious style demanded that this important fortress might be given to M. de Longueville. The Cardinal shuffled, demurred, and represented to M. le Prince, that the duke, being already governor of Normandy, and commanding in the strongholds of Rouen, Caen, and Dieppe, needed but the acquisition of Pont de l'Arche, and Hâvre, to become Duke of Normandy. Condé persisted; and his Eminence, with many humble expressions of deference, requested time to take her Majesty's pleasure on the matter. The Prince, a few hours later, sent Lenet, and his friend Chabot, the new Duc de Rohan *par brevet*, to reiterate his demand; saying "that the Cardinal placed him in the difficult position of breaking his word to his brother-in-law, which would occasion a second family quarrel." The Cardinal replied, that M. le Prince had been premature

in his promise to M. de Longueville; and that nominations to great and important commands must be regulated by policy, and the demands of the King's service. The same evening Anne sent for Condé, and informed him that his demand being against all recognised maxims of state, she should be responsible to the King her son (who had then entered his twelfth year) if she yielded thereto; moreover, that she herself was personally hostile to such a nomination, and would rather cede a third of the realm to a foreign foe, than give Pont de l'Arche to the late rebel governor of Normandy. Condé retired from the presence, launching out in shameful tirades against the Cardinal-minister, and even the Queen—who, he said, was led by the nose by a *Pantalon Rouge*, from whom, by the help of Heaven, he would soon free the realm! that there were ways and means of uniting all the factions; and that if Pont de l'Arche were refused to his solicitation, he would give that, and every other command in the realm, according to his own pleasure! "I will continue to defend the royal authority from the tiger-grasp of our magistrates; but I also know how to defend myself, and my friends, against the tyranny of an insolent varlet, and favourite!" Not satisfied with the refusal that he had received from the lips of the Queen, Condé the next morning sent to the Cardinal a still more peremptory message on behalf of M. de Longueville. Mazarin, ever polite, replied with unruffled temper, "that he regretted much not having been yet able to make the requisite impression on the Queen's mind, to induce her to grant the request of M. le Prince!" A few evenings subsequently, Condé

again personally reiterated his demands, threatening the Cardinal outrageously, and hinting that he had but to ask, to obtain any request from the Queen. A short and decisive negative again transported the Prince with fury. He approached Mazarin, and, forgetful of all decorum, shook his fist fiercely in the minister's face, and giving him a fillip on the cheek, rushed from the apartment, exclaiming, "Adieu, Mars!"*

It was eleven o'clock at night when the *fracas* occurred, and by midnight every incident had been retailed to the Coadjutor. Gondy triumphantly hailed the intelligence; and a mighty vision arose before his eyes of an united faction, *dite la Fronde*, arrayed under Condé; justified by his adhesion; defended by his valiant sword; the liberty of the subject and individual security guaranteed by his sanction; the government remodelled; and arbitrary power overthrown by the young hero of the blood royal of Bourbon! Such a dream had once before transported the fancy of the Coadjutor, when the Prince, at the commencement of the troubles, had been summoned by the Queen to undertake the castigation of Paris. Condé's reply had then been, after long lingering vacillations, and yearnings toward the popular party, "*Je m'appelle Louis de Bourbon, et je ne veux pas ebranler la Couronne!*" Gondy, nevertheless, divined the bitterness and present disappointment of the Prince, and guessed how readily

* Guy Joly; De Retz; Hist. du Prince de Condé—Archives Curieuses, t. viii. The next morning Joly asserts that Condé addressed a letter to Mazarin, bearing this superscription: "Al illustrissimo Signor Facquino Mazzariui."

his ungoverned spirit might grasp at any mode of retaliation—to the which every member of his family would urge him. "In the Coadjutor," relates Lenet, "resided the strength and resource of La Fronde; for his genius and wit surpassed that of any other partisan. In the Parliament he had a number of friends; he was the *bon ami* of Madame de Chevreuse, and more than that, if report declared the truth, of her daughter Mademoiselle de Chevreuse." Gondy had special reasons for cultivating every intimacy. He haunted the Hôtel Chevreuse, for the *beaux yeux* of Charlotte de Lorraine; also, because her mother had not lost wit and *âplomb* with her beauty, and was twining her influence around Monsieur, who hitherto had been faithful to the Queen. The Duc de Beaufort still remained a kind of lay figure, which Gondy dressed up at pleasure, to present to the people. Chavigny and Châteauneuf, the ministers elect of the faction, though not of the Coadjutor, lived in dreary seclusion at their respective country mansions. In the Parliament Broussel still flourished, the idol of a small section therein, and the spokesman of the clever Gondy. The counsellors Longueville, and Blancménil were the orators of the opposition benches in the High Court, led by the President Bellièvre against Molé, and his loyal bands; while M. Viole still continued to be the oracle of Chavigny. Gondy, therefore, in fact, led the more violent democrats of the Chamber—bands of young, hot-headed lawyers and clerks, imbued with fierce hate towards Mazarin, but inclined towards M. de Condé whenever he might choose to adopt the

popular sentiments. A glorious career might have opened to the Queen could she have made up her mind to forsake Mazarin. It was true that the King's majority could alone extinguish the rival factions: but Anne might have dominated over all, had she not, by her support of the Cardinal-minister, identified herself with a party—and that party the smallest, as well as that which served as a target into which all aimed the arrows of discord.

At seven in the morning after the *fracas* between Condé and Mazarin, the Coadjutor was alert, in confidential communing with Madame de Longueville, Lenet, and others, the friends of Condé. The Prince had not risen from bed, being cut to the heart, as his sister declared, by the perfidy of the court. This seclusion, which lasted throughout the day, was only a *ruse*, and continued until he saw how matters might turn. During the day almost all the young nobles in Paris had offered their services to the Prince, and his Hôtel was thronged with eager sympathisers. In the evening there was an assemblage at the Hôtel Longueville. Gondy appeared, attended by an imposing *cortège*, and made the Prince offer of alliance with the lords of La Fronde, and the liberal members of the Parliament of Paris. The excitement was tremendous: the Palais Royal was deserted, and the friends of Mazarin blank with despair. Condé graciously accepted the overtures of the malcontent faction, and invited the chiefs to sup with him at the tavern of one Prudhomme, a noted *traiteur* of the capital. Monsieur was wheedled by Madame de Chevreuse into joining

the banquet. Seditious toasts were there given amid the wildest revelry: Condé, filling a bumper, gave, "La Reine—*à la Rivière!*" Aghast, a deep silence crept over the revellers. The Prince sat down defiantly, while Gondy attempted to revive merriment. That toast, however, seemed to sober many a heated brain. Monsieur especially seemed out of spirits, and departed forthwith. It was afterwards explained that the Prince meant, out of compliment to the Duc d'Orleans, to toast his favourite, the Abbé de la Rivière; others explained that Condé intended to say, Mazarin, *à la rivière*—unfortunately omitting in his excitement the appellation of Mazarin. Be this as it may, the rumour of this supper spread all over the capital, and produced deep sensation. The following morning, Condé paid a visit to the Coadjutor, and accepted a choice Mazarinade, which Marigny offered to him as he descended the staircase of the episcopal palace.

The Queen and Mazarin, meanwhile, were alarmed, and irritated at the storm so swiftly raised. The Cardinal, who was endowed with great outward composure, took matters tranquilly; saying "that he was grieved to have offended M. le Prince, which was no fault of his, as the Queen was mistress, and would not confer Pont de l'Arche upon M. de Longueville." It has been, however, surmised that the Queen had purposely brought matters to this crisis; believing that Condé would not really break with her, and could never be permanently induced to enrol himself a colleague of Broussel and Blancménil, however earnestly

he might coquet with the popular party. The threats and ill-tempers of Condé were the bane of Anne's life; therefore, if she could successfully embroil him with La Fronde, the Prince must necessarily become more supple, and manageable in his intercourse with the Cardinal. Matters, however, had gone further than the Queen anticipated. The union, once consummated, between Condé, the Parliament, and the rebel *noblesse*, Mazarin was lost. Anne, therefore, sent for Monsieur, and his favourite la Rivière, and charged them to make up the quarrel. The duke murmured "that M. le Prince had taken engagements elsewhere, and that precious time had been lost." "Do as I say," replied her Majesty. "M. le Prince is not the man to put up with such *canaille!*" The Queen, notwithstanding her bold attitude, felt keenly this defiance, and was sensible of the affronts offered to her. If she could then have annihilated Condé, doubtless she would gladly have done so: she could, however, wait; she could still scheme—and perfect the amplitude of her reprisals.

Condé, meantime, was a prey to contending emotions. The nearer he approached to alliance with the liberal party, the greater was his abhorrence of their designs. "The Prince, in the space of three days, changed his opinions three hundred times," reports the Duc de Rohan. Having received a mysterious message from the Marquis de Jarzé, who requested the Prince to send a person he trusted to receive an important communication, Condé sent Lenet to the interview. The little Marquis declared himself to be much scared at the untoward events of the week. He

stated, in strict confidence, that he believed her Majesty was beginning to weary of M. de Mazarin, and had cast the sunshine of her favour on another happy mortal; in short, that he would undertake to ruin the said Cardinal in the good graces of her Majesty, provided that the Prince promised never to be reconciled with Mazarin. M. de Jarzé also offered to report daily all that took place in the Queen's chamber; but that to do so he must continue his accustomed familiarity with the Cardinal, which her Majesty understood! Lenet gazed in amazement on the Marquis, whom he regarded as a person crazed with vanity. He laughingly replied, "that he hoped M. de Jarzé would remember him when he came to his kingdom; and that, meantime, M. le Prince accepted his services." Condé burst forth into wrathful expletives when informed of the impudence of Jarzé: he declared that he disbelieved every word, "for that her Majesty was not the woman to be attracted by the flattery of a little addlepate like Jarzé!" The Duc d'Orleans and M. la Rivière, the Marshal de Grammont, and the Duc de Rohan, meanwhile, visited Condé on behalf of her Majesty, who was now graciously pleased to offer him Pont de l'Arche for his brother-in-law M. de Longueville; provided that the Prince reconciled himself sincerely with Mazarin, who was sorrowful beyond expression at having unwittingly offended him, and was ready to make reasonable concession. The overture was eagerly accepted, and self-complacency again beamed over the soul of Condé. He had asserted his power; and now there was opportunity to escape odious alliance with La Fronde

—that cabal of "petticoats, and of alcoves," as the Prince contemptuously termed the faction. Pont de l'Arche, however, was ungraciously accepted, with many grumblings "that the government had forced him into negotiations with his ancient enemies, to whom he could not refuse protection if they, in their turn, applied to him. Moreover, he expected M. le Coadjuteur incontinently, to make final arrangements." Condé, nevertheless, accepted Anne's concession; and promised to send M. Lenet to negotiate with M. de la Rivière his reconciliation with M. le Cardinal.

Punctual as the hour, Gondy and M. de Noirmoutier arrived at the Hôtel Condé by dawn on the morning of the 18th of September, 1649. The Prince was asleep when his visitors entered, and on being aroused showed embarrassment, and reluctance to enter upon conversation. He at length avowed, in some confusion, that he could not finally make up his mind to commence a civil war; that the Queen was too attached to the Cardinal to forsake him voluntarily; and that to adopt measures to compel her Majesty to do so went against his conscience and his honour: moreover, that his was a rank which forbad him to imitate le Balafré: nevertheless, he should never forget the obligations which he owed to the faction, and that in making his peace with the court, by accepting Pont de l'Arche, he would reconcile his friends, and especially intercede for M. de Bellièvre. The Coadjutor had been exalted on the wings of hope to the seventh heaven, and fell from his altitude to the depths of dismay. Concealing his rage and mortification, Gondy, begged

the Prince to consider only his own interests; and to be assured that he and his friends, would ever remain the obliged and humble servants of his Royal Highness. Gondy then, on quitting the Hôtel Condé, threw himself into a *chaise à porteur*, and was borne to the Hôtel Longueville, to break the disastrous intelligence to the duchess. A few hours later, Condé, escorted by Monsieur, went to the Palais Royal; and the reconciliation, in its outer sense, was accomplished. The Prince reproached Mazarin for his obduracy; adding that he could have wished that the Duc de Longueville had received his appointment with better grace. Great *pourparlers* were holden throughout that day and the next, between the Cardinal, Monsieur, M. la Rivière, and M. Lenet, to complete the private *entente* between the Prince, and the minister. Mazarin spoke fairly enough: he promised to hold nothing in comparison with the friendship of M. le Prince, provided that he was stanch to the alliance, reasonable, and true. "If his Royal Highness will settle his pretensions with sincerity, they must be very unreasonable and untenable if I do not cause the Queen to approve them," said Mazarin, earnestly. "I hear, from M. Perrault, that divers projects float in the brain of Monseigneur; sometimes he wishes to be recognised as Duc de Rhételois; at others he desires to be sovereign Count of Bourgogne, and Prince of Montbéliard: nevertheless, it will be better for M. le Prince to confine his pretensions to dignities that the King, on the termination of his minority, will ratify and confirm." Mazarin's remark was reason itself. The Prince, how-

ever, acted from impulse, not from prudent resolve; he was swayed by momentary piques, by his own headstrong will, and by the humour of his sister, the Duchesse de Longueville. As for the alliance of his niece with Mercœur, Mazarin declared himself ready to renounce the marriage, provided that M. le Prince acted with him, and helped him to marry his nieces; that together they might rule the world—for as antagonists Paris might beard them. At length, through the good offices of la Rivière and M. Lenet, it was agreed, "that the Cardinal, out of regard for M. le Prince, should break off the marriage of his niece Mademoiselle Laura Victoria Mancini with the Duc de Mercœur, and promise to marry his other nieces after having first obtained the consent of M. de Condé; that the office of High Admiral should not be disposed of; that no office, government, or benefice should be given without the approval of M. le Prince; and that no appointments or promotions should be made in the army without his previous sanction."* La Rivière, in his anxiety to propitiate the rivals, in whose hands his own ecclesiastical elevation rested, forgot or disregarded the interest of his own master, the Duc d'Orleans, whose prerogatives, as Lieutenant-General of the realm, were usurped, and transferred to Condé by this last article. Madame de Chevreuse, who wished

* "Le mariage de la Mazarinette ainée avec M. le Duc de Mercœur est tout-à-fait rompu encore une fois. Le Mazarin dit que M. de Vendôme ne le peut pas beaucoup fortifier de son alliance. M. de Vendôme dit qu'il na que faire de ce mariage; et qu'il voit bien qu'on ne sauroit tenir tout ce que l'on lui fait esperer, ni lui donner l'argent qu'on lui promet—ainsi tous deux se quittent, l'un l'autre."—Guy Patin, Lettre 207.

to dethrone la Rivière in the good graces of Monsieur, availed herself, with skilful malice, of this treaty at a subsequent period. The articles were signed by the Queen and Mazarin, Condé and M. de la Rivière: a copy was placed in the hands of Mathieu Molé; and every precaution was adopted to hide the treaty from Monsieur, who could not fail to be highly exasperated at such stipulations.*

The disappointment of Madame de Longueville can feebly be expressed by words. Not only had Condé summarily discarded her political friends, but these latter remained deeply exasperated at the check, and the unfair manner in which the Prince had deluded them into a premature revelation of their dormant enmity to the government of Mazarin. When Condé first saw his sister after his reconciliation with the court, she was sitting in consultation with Lenet. The Prince entered, laughing somewhat defiantly. "Well, *ma sœur*," said he, "you have heard—Lenet has told you—that le Mazarin and I are now as two heads in the same cap?" "Brother, I have heard; I pray that you may not lose all your friends and your influence, the which the Abbé de la Rivière, and M. le Duc d'Orleans will not restore to you, still less may you expect anything from the Queen or the Cardinal. Is it true that Mazarin is going to sup with you to-night?" "Monsieur invited himself, and said that he would bring le Mazarin and fiddlers to amuse us after supper!" replied Condé, lightly. The Duke de la

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii., liv. iii.; Guy Joly; Mém. de la Duchesse de Nemours; Mém. de Lenet, de Montrésor, de la Rochefoucauld; Hist. du Card. de Mazarin, Aubéry; De Motteville; Bibl. Imp., MS. Suppl. F.; Siri Mémorie Recondite; Leti, Teatro-Gallico, t. i.

Rochefoucauld never ceased to stir up the duchess to make fresh enterprises on the political constancy of her brother; he declared that his claims had been overlooked in the treaty of Ruel; and that the Queen, faithless to all her engagements, had once promised him a *tabouret* at court for his consort. A week, therefore, had scarcely elapsed, before Condé demanded that this *tabouret* should be granted to Madame de la Rochefoucauld, so as to place her in the same rank at court as the Rohans, and the wives of the chieftains de la Trimouille, and Bouillon. The Queen reluctantly assented; but so visible was her disapproval, that the houses already distinguished *par les honneurs du Louvre*, rose in protest. Eight hundred nobles met to protest against the exaltation of la Rochefoucauld; the ferment was inconceivable upon a question of pure etiquette. The assembly met first in the mansion of M. de l'Hôpital; it was then transferred to the Hôtel Chevreuse; finally it adjourned to the spacious saloons of the Duc d'Uséz. The cadets of the noble houses, moreover, met to protest at the house of M. de Montglât. The peers signed a manifesto, or act of union; eight hundred signatures demanded the suppression of all *tabourets* at court not granted to the offspring of sovereign princes, including those of Trimouille, Rohan, and Bouillon. M. le Prince, furious at this opposition, menaced and declaimed—to no purpose however, as Mazarin privately assured the assembly that he considered their protest reasonable; nevertheless, that upon this occasion, as upon many others, he had been obliged to yield to the indomitable will of M. de

Condé. Danger to the already shaken monarchy lurked, however, in these assemblages. Liberty of debate soon degenerated into license, and into subtle disquisitions on the rights of the *noblesse*, the power of the King, and the limits and origin of the royal power. Gondy saw the advantage, and seized it eagerly; and some of his partisans proposed, that as the royal power evidently was not clearly defined, and rested not on a stable basis, that a petition should be carried to the Parliament of Paris praying that a decree might be issued on this debateable subject. The true royalists of the assembly opposed this motion, and moved that the Queen should be petitioned speedily to convoke the States General of the realm. The one proposition was as distasteful as the other to Anne. Execrating the folly of Condé, she hastened to break up the assemblies by sending four Marshals of the realm to make a solemn promise on her part not to infringe on any of the privileges of the *noblesse*; and to refuse to acknowledge the claim of la Rochefoucauld as a house distinguished in dignity above the rest of the nobles, and therefore entitled to *les honneurs du Louvre*. Her Majesty said, that she also held the opinion that these privileges ought to be bestowed only on the descendants of sovereign houses; but, being only Regent of the realm, it was out of her power to suppress privileges conferred on the houses of Bouillon, Trimouille, and Bouillon, by her son's predecessors. The message was accompanied by an order dissolving the assemblies, which, after some mutinous delay, was complied with.

The Prince, meanwhile, was not more prudent in his private relations with the Queen. Presuming on his services, he treated her, and her son with offensive familiarity; and one day talked to her about the Duke of Buckingham, asking insolently whether there was any truth in the compromising reports which had nearly resulted in her divorce from Louis XIII.? He sat down in the royal presence; compelled the Queen by angry solicitations to invite Madame de Longueville, whom she disliked; and tormented her to give some public proof to his sister that she was re-established in her good graces. But for the firm veto of the Queen, Condé would have broken down the barriers of etiquette wisely established between the sovereign, and the princes of the blood; as he audaciously, on several occasions, invited the young King to play at bowls and tennis at the Hôtel Condé, and afterwards to sup with him. He likewise, had the *maladresse* to taunt Mazarin with the Queen's preference for M. de Jarzé; for, despite his promise to that personage, he had betrayed the confidences made to Lenet. Condé, in fact, was at this period a perfect incarnation of mischief, imprudence, and mad bravādo, which it is difficult to analyse. When he might have crushed Mazarin he refrained; but seemed afterwards to live for no other purpose than to goad the minister to some signal act of retaliation; while this conduct made the hostile party, more deadly in its hate. To some deputies from Bordeaux, who came to Paris to protest against the extortions of the

Duc d'Epernon, and whom he heard with Mazarin in the presence chamber of the latter, he behaved with extraordinary violence. Dissenting from some expression in their address reflecting on Epernon, he flew at them in a fury, shaking his cane, and threatening "that he would beat them to death." In the court circle his familiarity with Mazarin affronted the Queen. When in a good humour, he dared to address the minister as "*Mon brave*," "*l'Ami de famille*," and other choice epithets culled from the libels of the period. Sometimes, it would seem, a dread and a foretaste of insecurity stole over the spirit of Condé; for in one of these moods he determined to buy over M. de la Rivière to his interests, by the voluntary cession of his brother's claim to the cardinalate, which remained still in suspense. He accordingly proposed that la Rivière should inform him of every word, and project respecting himself confided to Monsieur, either by the Queen, or by the Cardinal. The Prince concluded that his arrest or exile, could never be accomplished without the participation of Monsieur, who notoriously never wrote even a love epistle without confiding its contents to his favourite. La Rivière, however, refused to give the pledge demanded of him, unless exonerated from his bond of secrecy previously sworn to Monsieur. Condé, nothing daunted, boldly asked Monsieur to dispense with M. de la Rivière's secrecy on all matters concerning himself; and the duke had the simplicity to grant his favourite the liberty requested. This false step on the part of Monsieur disturbed all his relations with the court; and was the occasion of his first serious

altercation with Queen Anne. M. le Prince thereupon felt himself secure—in the royal chamber Jarzé was his spy; while the Abbé de la Rivière had consented to become his reporter of all the enterprises concerted in that of Monsieur.

Anne passed, at this period, much of her time in reverie and tears—so much so, that her ladies were often reminded of the gloom of the darkest period of her married life. The iron rule of Condé cut with a keen edge. His friendship was a harder yoke than his enmity. The court was dull and monotonous; the Cardinal was abstracted and careworn:—power, both to Anne of Austria, and to Giulio Mazzarini, had brought disquiet, and thorny trouble. To Anne of Austria, Mazarin was the symbol and incarnation of despotic power—that only medium whereby, she believed, kings reigned and flourished. From her girlhood she knew no other form of government: her types of ministers were the Duc de Lerma in Spain, and the Cardinal de Richelieu over France. At this period, however, Mazarin was reserved and cold towards his royal mistress; the reports spread by the agents of the Prince relative to Jarzé's assiduities, and the admission made by the Marquis, angered and provoked him. Condé's jokes relative to her Majesty's *cicisbeo*, M. de Jarzé, he deemed to be disrespectful to the throne, and offensive personally to the Queen. For long Anne could not be persuaded that Jarzé seriously supposed that she favoured his suit; or that he had the folly to believe that his homage was acceptable. In the course of the Marquis's revelations to Condé, he had assured

the latter that M. de Candale was desirous of becoming his friend. The Prince, with his accustomed disregard for the safety of his friends, told this to the Duc de Rohan, expressing much surprise, as Candale still remained an aspirant for the hand of Mademoiselle de Martinozzi. The Duc de Rohan revealed the matter to Mazarin, who, in his turn, told the Queen of the double treachery of M. de Jarzé. It so happened that the Marquis had left Paris to visit his friend, M. de Beringhen at Armentières; from thence, unsuspicious of the *guet-à-pens* into which his vanity had betrayed him, he wrote to Madame de Beauvais, the Queen's first tirewoman, who sympathised in his passion. This lady, aware of Anne's relish for admiration, had long slyly entertained her mistress during the early privacy of the morning, by relations of Jarzé's admiration, and his despair at the distance between himself, and the beloved object of his idolatry. La Beauvais, therefore, fancied that she might presume to show her mistress privately, the effusion sent to her by the Marquis from Armentières. He stated that, although the château was beautiful, he was a victim to *ennui*, not being able to endure anything, or anybody separated from the beloved object of his devotion, whom he prayed Madame de Beauvais to propitiate on his behalf! This letter was enough for the Queen, already exasperated by Condé's mendacity, and the Cardinal's coldness.* She took the letter, and sent it by a page to

* "Je sais," writes Mazarin, Carnet xiii. p. 79, "que la reine ne dort plus; qu'elle soupire la nuit, et pleure même; et que tout procède du mépris dans lequel elle croit être, et qui tout s'en faut qu'elle attende changement que, au contraire, elle est persuadée que cela empirera!"

Mazarin, promising to follow his counsel. Two days afterwards M. de Jarzé returned, and made his bow to the Queen on her return from hearing mass. Anne's cheek flushed with anger; she made a step in advance of her ladies, and said, in her hardest and coldest tones—"that she considered his audacity was unbearable in presenting himself before her after the reports he had spread; that she never thought he was overburdened with wisdom, though not, as she was now convinced, a confirmed idiot—which madness he had inherited from his grandfather, M. le Marshal de Laverdan, who had been turned out of the Louvre because he wished to play the gallant to Queen Marie de' Medici; that it was an unpardonable insolence in a miserable little varlet like himself even to look at her; and that she commanded him to decamp as quickly as possible from the Palais Royal, and never present himself again in her presence!" Anne then swept on, leaving M. de Jarzé smitten to the earth with shame, sorrow, and dismay. Even the very soldiers tittered as the unfortunate little Marquis rushed forth from the palace—for the interview took place in a gallery communicating with the guard-chamber, the doors of which stood open. He repaired to Condé, who, after indulging in hearty laughter, promised to compel the Queen to make him reparation before the court. It will scarcely be believed that Condé actually went to the palace for the purpose. He first attacked Mazarin, who replied, "that he dared not interfere in a matter so personal to the Queen, her Majesty having acted as she pleased." Nothing daunted, Condé sought

the Queen, who quickly silenced and dismissed him by an explosion of wrathful indignation on his own share in the propagation of the defamatory reports, which the Prince found hard to withstand. The same day, Madame de Beauvais was dismissed from the office at court which she had filled for more than twenty years, and exiled to her house at Gentilly, Anne refusing even to grant her an audience of farewell.*

As some little solace to her numerous chagrins, Anne at this period devised, and founded a religious order for ladies, which she named the Celestial Collar of the Holy Rosary; and which she conferred on fifty ladies of the highest rank, as a mark of her favour and patronage. The collar of the order was composed of a blue ribbon, embroidered with roses, interlaced with the letters A.R. in cypher. The star was suspended by a cord of blue silk; it was of gold, of eight points *pomettée*, in each angle a fleur-de-lis. The badge was a figure of the Holy Virgin, having on the reverse an image of St. Dominic, both effigies being enamelled, and jewelled. Mesdemoiselles de Chevreuse and d'Elbœuf, the two fair Mazarinettes, Madame la Princesse, and Madame de Senécé, were decorated. The young Princess of Condé, niece of Richelieu, also received the same favour; but no solicitation on the part of Condé could induce the Queen to bestow her order on Madame de Longueville.

* After a year's exile from court the Queen took pity upon her "bonne Catau," as she called Madame de Beauvais, and restored her to her forfeited office of chief tirewoman.

Meanwhile, in playing fast and loose with M. de Mazarin, Condé, commanding as was his position, overtasked his power. "The worm may turn and sting its oppressor;" and Condé, had he been wise, as he was energetic, would have remembered the Persian axiom, "Whenever you have offended a man with deadly offence, do not imagine that a thousand after-benefits will shield you from his vengeance!" Mazarin was also supported by a princess of high courage, whose resentment glowed more fiercely even than his own, and who panted for the opportunity to overthrow their terrible protector. Matchless in craft and subtleties, the Cardinal, as a first measure, set about to embroil Condé irretrievably with La Fronde. An extraordinary concourse of incidents, and events occurred at this time, which enabled him to effect his purpose, while, aided by his clever ally, Queen Anne, he succeeded in warding from himself all suspicion of double purpose. The suspension of the payment of *les rentes de l'Hôtel de Ville*, sanctioned by Parliament in the treaty of Ruel, had been received with riotous protest by the sufferers, who amounted to many thousands. The first ferment was appeased by a half-promise from the government that the annuities should be paid again after the 18th of September, 1649. The period passed, and a notification appeared on the walls of the Hôtel de Ville, that the government was still too poor, and too embarrassed, to acquit its obligations. Upon this, three thousand of the creditors of the crown, chiefly citizens of Paris, met, petitioned the Parliament, agitated, and clothed them-

selves in black garments, the uniform of the *tiers état* at the assemblage of the States General. Molé indignantly rebuked the pertinacity of these supplicants; taunting them with wishing to imitate England, and to form a Chambre de Communes! The citizens persisted, clamoured for payment, and elected twelve syndics to watch over their interests, and to direct the movement. Gondy and the leaders of La Fronde meanwhile, joined in the agitation; another street-fight seemed imminent, as the Parliament, led by Molé, refused to interfere authoritatively, or to sanction any violent pressure on the government. The petition of *les rentiers* to la Grande Chambre, to confirm the nomination of their syndics, and to pray that the Parliament, *toutes Chambres assemblées*, might be assembled to redress their grievances, was rejected, and the matter adjourned for some future day. As there was danger in delay, and great distrust relative to the attitude of the court, which was swayed by M. de Condé, who was renowned for swift action, a curious stratagem was concocted, with the sanction and co-operation of the Coadjutor, and of M. de Beaufort. It was resolved that a pistol-shot should be fired at the most popular of the syndics, the famous M. Guy Joly, as he passed in his coach through the Marché Neuf. The outcry and agitation attending the attempted assassination of the chief syndic of the people, it was thought, would compel the Chamber to assemble; and thus thwart any arbitrary adjudication on the part of the government. A coat, thickly padded with tow, was therefore prepared for M. Joly,

and the conspirators met on the previous evening to test whether this armour was ball-proof—sufficiently so to save the syndic from real injury. The following night the *coup* was performed: the shot was fired, and M. Joly, succoured by a party of friends fortunately at hand, was carried off to his house, when a surgeon was sent for to dress an abrasion on the shoulder, which had in reality been skilfully inflicted, before he set out on his adventures. The noise of this catastrophe was immense: but in a few hours the excitement subsided, and it was whispered that there was more *sous la rose* than publicly appeared. The wily Cardinal, ever on the alert, then stepped forth in his turn, to play the first act of his skilful comedy, his confidants being the Queen and M. de la Boulaye, noted during the siege of Paris as a Frondeur, and commander of la Cavalerie des Portes Cochères, but now the secret friend of Mazarin. In his old character, therefore, la Boulaye pretended to be infuriated with the court; and during the following morning's session of the High Court, he burst into the chamber, followed by a troop of armed men, exclaiming, "Citizens, close your shops! to arms! to arms! We have certain information that the Queen's guards have received an order to shoot down M. de Beaufort, and certain members of this Chamber. Already the syndic of the people has fallen a victim: we must be forearmed! Let us march straight on the Palais Royal, and seize the author of such counsels! To arms!" Having delivered himself of this address, la Boulaye retired, and began to harangue in the Place Maubert; from thence he visited

the Coadjutor, who deeming him mad, sharply dismissed him. At the Palais Royal, meantime, the Queen appeared scared, and in the utmost consternation; and consulted the Prince de Condé whether he thought it safe for her to attend mass at Nôtre Dame, as the day was Saturday, when she usually went thither. She also confided to him that the Cardinal's spies brought news that his life was in danger from the resentment of the *rentiers Frondeurs*, who believed that he was privy to the attempted assassination of their M. Guy Joly. M. le Prince being engaged to sup with the Marshal de Grammont, the Queen implored him to be cautious; and to visit the Palais Royal before repairing thither, in case any further information might have been received relative to the plot. La Boulaye's extraordinary panic, meantime, had filled the streets with idle gazers. Between eight and nine at night, a troop of cavaliers, masked, appeared on the Place Dauphine, armed. The captain of the quarter sent to ask their business, and to beg them to retire. Several pistol-shots were aimed at the messenger, the guard was called out, and a scuffle ensued, which ended in the retreat of the cavaliers to the Pont Neuf. The news of the *fracas* was brought to the Palais Royal by M. Servien, who stated that he had been sent on the part of M. de Mazarin, to warn M. le Prince that the concourse seemed suspicious; and that it was reported assassins lay in wait on the Pont Neuf to take his life. Condé, always brave, said "that he would go down and ascertain the fact;" but at the Queen's entreaties, he agreed to send his equipage

across the Pont Neuf, with the blinds of the carriage closed. The coach was accordingly sent: on the Pont Neuf two cavaliers galloped up to the coach and looked in; finding it empty they approached the coach of the Marquis de Duras, lord in waiting to Condé, which followed, and fired into it two shots, which killed a servant. The cavaliers then fled, led by M. de la Boulaye, who never drew rein until he had safely passed the German frontier.

Condé immediately fell into the trap set for him by his wily foe; and believing that the chieftains of La Fronde, out of revenge, had concerted his assassination, vowed against them war to the death. At this juncture he behaved more like a person demented than a rational, and reasonable being. In vain the Coadjutor and M. de Beaufort waited upon him, and assured him that they were perfectly ignorant of such a plot, which Gondy broadly hinted looked very like a comedy—the Prince believed nothing, and heard nothing in his blind rage. Mazarin and the Queen sympathised in, and fostered his resentment; and the Cardinal diligently collected a mass of spurious evidence of the guilty misdeeds of La Fronde, which he laid before the Prince. It was on this occasion that Mazarin organised that staff of trained and paid spies, which has always since been an engine of the French government; but which had never existed regularly, even in the days of Richelieu. The *brevets* were signed by the King, and countersigned le Tellier; and stated "that the King, understanding that leagues were being

conspired in Paris, authorised the said spy to frequent public, and private assemblies, in order to make report to government, with all surety of person and property, despite any revelations he might make." The next day it was reported that the Coadjutor, and the Duc de Beaufort, had formed a plot to sieze the person of the King, after having accomplished the assassination of M. de Condé; and that the said princes were in league with the King of Spain. The fright and alarm in Paris was never surpassed: no person dared answer for his neighbour; for the farce arranged respecting M. Joly had been confided to a very few persons. The Duc de Beaufort, astounded at the gravity of the accusation, and unable to prove his innocence, made preparation for a hasty flight with Madame de Montbazon for Péronne. Gondy alone kept his courage, resolved, let what might come, to hold his ground. Condé, on the 15th of December, held a great *lever* of noblemen, who hastened to compliment, and congratulate him on his escape. The Coadjutor and M. de Noirmoutier also boldly proceeded to the Hôtel Condé; but after waiting in the ante-chamber for three hours, while chamberlains admitted separately each noble visitor, they were not called. On the 16th of December the Prince presented a petition to the Parliament, praying for justice on the persons of MM. de Beaufort, de Gondy Coadjuteur de Paris, and de Boulaye, whom he accused of a plot to assassinate him. Anne also summoned M. Talon, and *les gens du Roi*, and commanded that rigid investigations should take place, to discover the intended assassins

of M. le Prince. The witnesses were summoned before the Parliament, and proved to be only some of Mazarin's wretched *mouchards*, Canto, Sociande, Gorgibus, and others. Their testimony was so vague and uncertain, that Talon declared that there was no evidence against the princes, and demanded the erasure of their names from the *procès-verbal* of the accusation. The solicitor-general, Neuillant, however, opposed this course; and proposed that the Coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort should be summoned to the bar of the Chamber, to prove their innocence; and to show why their arrest on the first charge should not be ordered. The acrimony and partisanship were so violent, that all held the accused to be lost. The friends of Condé declared everywhere that the Coadjutor could not refute the charge; that his justification was impossible; and that the King's law officers deemed his condemnation certain. Hurried conferences were holden; La Fronde, hunted from corner to corner in Paris, seemed dissolving—a thing of the past. Many members fled before the wrath of Condé, while the possibility of raising a sedition was discussed, and rejected. Madame de Longueville, M. de Conty, and the Duc de Longueville, at this juncture forsook their old friends, and declared their belief in the reality of the plot; triumphing in their expectation of the approaching dictatorship of the Prince. Gondy accepted the challenge, and prepared to make his defence in person. On the 24th of December he went down to the Chamber alone, clad in pontifical robes, on foot, calm, resolved, and endowed at this

supreme moment of his political existence with every resource unimpaired As he went alone on foot, all his friends avoided him: "scarcely," says he, "would they return my salute."

The court apparently was set in deadly array against him; and the galleries of the Chamber were thronged with lords and ladies. In one of the "lanternes" Mazarin was supposed to sit. The only morsel of sympathy which had been evinced for the position of the Coadjutor, was a mysterious intimation which he received during the night, of the points arrayed against him by the government; and, what was more, of the manner in which ministers had obtained their evidence. Gondy afterwards ascertained that this document had been sent by the command of Anne of Austria, through the attorney-general Talon. Condé went down in state to the chamber, escorted by a thousand gentlemen, who occupied la Salle de Pas Perdus, and other adjacent halls. The Coadjutor took his seat, and at the proper period rose to speak: his speech was a model of terseness, and ingenuity. Possessed of the secret of Mazarin's paid informers, Gondy proclaimed the fact to the astonished members, so as effectually to turn the tables on his arrogant persecutor, who was supposed to participate in every measure of the government. "I should not deem it possible, Messieurs, that such an instance has ever occurred in the history of the world, of persons of our rank being accused on hearsay; still less can I believe it possible that posterity will ever believe that we have been arraigned on the verbal testimony of infamous wretches—paid spies, men just

escaped from the dungeon. The spy Canto, Messieurs, was condemned to be hanged at Pau; Pichau was sentenced to the wheel at Mans; Sociande is still on the registers of justice. Judge, therefore, Messieurs, of the truth of their statements by the etiquettes of their calling, they being convicted felons: they have also another rare advantage—that of being spies *à brevet!* Yes, Messieurs, these said persons the witnesses of M. le Prince, have licenses signed by an august name, which ought to be employed only in sustaining, and upholding, holy and righteous laws —M. le Cardinal Mazarin, who acknowledges only the one law of revenge, to punish the upholders of public liberty, compelled M. le Tellier to countersign these infamous licences. Moreover, is it possible that a grandson of Henri Quatre—M. Broussel, a senator of venerable age and worth—and the Coadjutor of Paris, can be suspected of promoting a sedition in which only a madcap marquis, and fifteen rascals from the dregs of the populace, led the revolt?"

Astonishment bated the breath of every member; at last, frantic cheers broke forth for the Coadjutor, in which MM. des Enquêtes were vociferous. All eyes were turned in sombre suspicion towards Condé, who could scarcely restrain his wrathful astonishment within decent limits. In vain Molé strove to diminish the effect of the revelation respecting the spies: he declared that evidence of unimpeachable fidelity was forthcoming; nevertheless, the session broke up in tumult—public sympathy having veered round to the

cause of the accused. Cries of "*Vive le Coadjuteur! Vive M. de Beaufort! Chapeaux bas!*" saluted these skilful agitators, as they left the Palais arm-in-arm, being followed by admiring crowds to their respective dwellings.

For many subsequent days the affair was debated. Paris swarmed with armed men: daily, Condé went down to the Chamber with an armed escort of a thousand gentlemen—all kinsmen, or retainers. The Coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort were also each accompanied by armed bands of the lowest populace; besides formidable gatherings of Frondeur nobles, and allies. Often conflicts occurred in the vicinity of the Chamber; and at length so formidable was the danger of appearing even on the benches of the Court, that members came armed with swords and daggers, hidden beneath their robes. The Coadjutor preached weekly at Nôtre Dame on the blessedness of Christian charity; and his sermons were listened to by crowded congregations with rapturous plaudits. One day, Gondy was heading a procession through the streets of Paris, on a high Church festival, and had therefore been unable that morning to be present in the Parliament. The procession met Condé in his coach, returning from the Chamber. The armed bands of his Royal Highness divided so as to allow the procession to pass onwards; while Condé, kneeling at the door of his coach, saluted the shrine of St. Geneviève, and received the benediction of the Coadjutor. The name of the Prince was now execrated by the powerful faction of La Fronde; and their hate to Mazarin paled before the vehemence

of this new resentment. Finding that nothing could be proved against the accused, Condé showed symptoms of being willing to drop further proceedings, on condition that M. le Coadjuteur was banished for an interval from the capital—"his Royal Highness not objecting, if her Majesty chose to honour him with the appointment of ambassador from the Christian King, to the court of Rome." Faithful to the *rôle* which had hitherto succeeded so admirably, Gondy took the insult humbly, and sent the Marquis de Noirmoutier to Madame la Princesse, asking her intercession; "as it was unworthy of the dignity of a great prince like M. de Condé, to avenge a crime which he now knew had never been committed." Stung by the insinuation, Madame la Princesse shortly replied, "that she considered the Coadjutor, and M. de Beaufort, very insolent to dare to stay in Paris, when it was the will of her son that they should leave!" Noirmoutier retorted, "that no one, not even the King himself, had the right to exercise such authority over princes of the rank of the said noblemen!" Madame de Condé replied, sharply, "that there was some difference between Mazarin and her son; and if the former did not know how to compel obedience, it would soon be seen that her son was a prince of a different temper!" Finding that nothing was to be gained from the friendship, or the prudence of the dowager princess, the Coadjutor and his clique were preparing fresh conspiracies, and making closer league with the leaders of the insurrectionary movements in the southern provinces of the realm, when a communication from Madame de Chevreuse offered

them an unexpected, and most surprising elucidation of their difficulty.

Condé, meantime, abated in nothing the arrogance of his tyranny over his royal mistress, despite the odium in which he had fallen with the popular party. During the height of the parliamentary investigations against his alleged assassins, he was guilty of an act of bold defiance, which completed the exasperation of Anne of Austria. The young Duc de Richelieu, yet a minor, was under the guardianship of his aunt, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and was being brought up in strict veneration for religion, and for his King. He was a handsome youth—timid, preferring the society of ladies to that of men, being flattered by the fairest, and welcomed everywhere as the fortunate possessor of Richelieu's millions. Amongst the intimate friends of Madame d'Aiguillon was Madame de Pons, a young widow of thirty, tolerably handsome, lively and witty, and sister to the Mademoiselle de Vigean who had entered a nunnery after being forsaken by Condé, at an earlier period of his career. To Madame de Pons the young duke had vowed a brotherly attachment; and as she was often his aunt's guest at Ruel, they were much together. Madame d'Aiguillon watched without alarm the assiduities of the boy of nineteen to the widow of thirty; and one day said, with a sentimental sigh, "Ah! how happy should I be, if that boy, in a few years' time, showed wisdom enough to persevere in his attachment to you." "Take care," replied Madame de Pons, with a coquettish laugh, "take care what you say; for I vow, if my young duke one day should propose mar-

riage to me, I should not have courage to resist!" The day did come, when "her young duke" talked to her of love and marriage, intoxicated by the artful wit of the widow.

Madame de Pons displayed the greatest artifice in accomplishing, and hiding her intrigue; and in persuading the duke to implicit secrecy. Aware that the Condé family would be likely to sanction an alliance which might give them power over Hâvre de Grâce, of which M. de Richelieu was governor, she confided the secret to Madame de Longueville. The latter told her brother Condé, imploring him to aid in promoting a marriage which might assist M. de Longueville in Normandy. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, meanwhile, was negotiating a marriage between her ward, and the beautiful Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; and had not the slightest suspicion of the nefarious dealings of her friend. As for the young duke, he was very much afraid of his aunt; he was, besides, a little smitten with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and felt a kind of repugnance to the secret marriage proposed. Condé, therefore, intervened, and by his counsels and authority succeeded, at length, in allaying the scruples of M. de Richelieu; who, in reality, was completely in the toils of Madame de Pons. Accordingly, he one day invited the duke to spend a day at Trye, a country mansion, a league from Paris, appertaining to the Duc de Longueville. Madame de Pons was also the guest of the Prince; and Condé's chaplain married the pair an hour after their arrival—the Prince giving away the bride. The newly-married pair

were despatched at once to take possession of Hâvre, in anticipation that the first act of the Queen would be to deprive M. de Richelieu of his important government. As if the offence to the crown was not heinous enough in marrying a personage of the importance of M. de Richelieu to a woman of double his age, without the sanction of the king, or the consent of his legal guardians, Condé sent a messenger to ride express to Hâvre; with orders, if any officer from the Queen arrived before M. le Duc and his bride, that such envoy was to be thrown into the sea, and his despatches burned!

After the departure of the bridal couple, Condé returned to Paris, and had the insolence to visit the Queen in the evening, who had already received by express a despairing letter from Madame d'Aiguillon, detailing the catastrophe. Before his departure, the young duke had insisted on writing to his aunt, to implore her pardon, and intercession with her Majesty. Anne, as Condé suspected, had despatched a gentleman, one M. de Bau, to seize Hâvre de Grâce. The duke, however, having previously arrived there, courteously received her Majesty's messenger, whom he sent back, with a penitent letter to the Queen; imploring forgiveness, requesting her to revoke her order, and promising to hold Hâvre in strict obedience to the crown. The wisdom of these proceedings was ascribed to the new Duchesse de Richelieu, and were somewhat disappointing to her warm patrons of the Condé family; but having arrived at her ends, and being in possession of the great dignities she had coveted, Madame de

Richelieu had no idea of risking her tenure of such, by a rash and bootless rebellion.*

Anne was too deeply offended to exchange many words on the subject with M. de Condé; she merely observed, that Madame d'Aiguillon would probably gain a decree dissolving the alleged marriage, as the duke was yet a minor. "Madame," replied the Prince, insolently, "when marriages are performed in the presence of a person of my rank, they are indissoluble!" Anne turned away: but if a glance could have slain M. le Prince, he must have fallen before her. Anne, however, possessed in unsurpassed degree the power of self-command; and presently she smoothed her brow, and addressed Condé in some lively *persiflage*. The Prince was never so agreeable as when he had accomplished a *coup de maître*; and so the two, both accomplished dissemblers, enlivened the court, for an interval, by their discourse. The Queen retired early, under the pretext of indisposition. When she entered her closet, Madame d'Aiguillon fell weeping at her feet, demanding redress, and vengeance. Anne sunk on a seat, and wept bitterly in concert—the degradation of the royal dignity, and her vassalage to Condé, weighed heavily. "Madame," at length said the Queen, "there is nothing that I would not do to avenge you, but at present I am powerless. In a few days you may return to me: we will then see!" The tone of concentrated passion glowing in the few simple words uttered by the Queen,

* Motteville; Hist. de la Maison de Richelieu; Montglât.

were not lost on Madame d'Aiguillon. "Madame," said she, with hesitation, "*si vous vouliez*"—then lowering her voice, the duchess whispered: "Restore your authority, Madame: arrest M. le Prince, who holds you in tutelage! La Fronde hates M. le Prince, and would be glad to be reconciled to your Majesty!" Anne started: the same project had long occupied her mind: it had been the subject of her nocturnal communings with Mazarin—a project so secret, and apparently so delicate, that, even to utter it, seemed fraught with peril! While Anne sat in thought, Mazarin entered: a few minutes later, Madame de Chevreuse arrived, and asked for immediate audience. It was granted, and Madame de Chevreuse appeared, with flaming eyes — more like her own old self than she had for long appeared. Strongly moved at the treachery of Condé, who had carried off her daughter's all-but affianced husband, Madame de Chevreuse glanced at the occupants of the room, and saw by Anne's dejected aspect how deeply she sympathised in the insult. Mazarin beckoned to Madame de Chevreuse, and taking her apart, began to converse in a low tone. He presently said, with some hesitation, "But, madame, if you love or feel for the Queen, cannot you help her?—you have friends." "The way, Monseigneur? The Queen is no longer Queen—she is the humble servant of M. le Prince," replied the duchess, vehemently. "If one could make sure of people, much might be accomplished," said Mazarin: "M. de Beaufort is devoted to Madame de Montbazon; Madame de Montbazon to M. de Vigueil;

and the Coadjutor to——" here the Cardinal discreetly paused, and looked meaningly at Madame de Chevreuse. "I understand," eagerly replied the duchess, "and I answer for him, and for her!" "Speak then to her Majesty," said his Eminence, meaningly. Madame de Chevreuse did not require a second bidding to obey: the conduct of Condé had roused the most acrimonious resentment—intrigue, besides, was her natural element, and with the Queen for her colleague, it reminded her of the joyous days of youth. When all persons had withdrawn, the duchess therefore approached the Queen in her old *caressante* manner. "You seem *triste*, Madame," said she. Anne replied, that she had reason to be so, being abandoned and persecuted by every one. The duchess replied, that if she would accept friends, she would find that La Fronde and its chieftains were loyal subjects; that they would be all delighted to serve her; and that the reason they did not pay assiduous court, was the reported hate which she bore them, the which was attributed to the unkind influence of M. le Cardinal; and that the lords dared not appear for fear of arrest—especially, during their hot persecution by M. le Prince. Anne sullenly replied, "that persons could not be her servants who were not those of the Cardinal also." The duchess said "that if M. le Cardinal would deign to become the patron of *les Frondeurs*, they would be charmed to become his good friends, and allies. Nevertheless, if her Majesty permitted, she would sound their inclinations, and on the following night report on the matter. Anne consented, charging the duchess to exercise

dexterity and tact; and, above all, not to betray that she was aware of the negotiation—finally, to meet her at midnight in *sa petite chambre grise.**

Madame de Chevreuse, all joyful, and wondering at the turn which affairs were taking, acquitted herself of the Queen's commission with exquisite tact and caution. Unable to apply her mind to other matters during the suspense, Anne retired to spend the day at Val de Grâce. At night, the Duchesse de Chevreuse arrived at the palace, triumphant and successful. Gondy, in short, the duchess assured her Majesty, waited but for one gracious word to kneel at her feet, the most devoted of her servants! The Coadjutor, being the incarnation and the centre of La Fronde, if he reconciled himself with her Majesty, all other members of the faction would follow. M. de la Rivière was the only obstacle which appeared unassailable; and the duchess hinted, that until she had properly prepared the mind of Monsieur for the *coup d'état*, strict secrecy had better be maintained in regard to the duke, who reported everything to his favourite. Anne no longer hesitated: vengeance for countless insults endured at the hands of M. le Prince was sweet; and with passionate eagerness she broke away his yoke from her neck. The people had sung on a former day—with better knowledge than M. le Prince evidently possessed of the temper of the royal mother of Louis Quatorze—

"La Reine a dit,
Je m'en ressouviendrai
Sachez Français, qui je suis de Castille,
Et que je me vengerai!"

* Mém. de Montglât, t. ii.

The Queen therefore took up a pen, and a tablet—she wrote a few lines, folded the paper, and handed it to Madame de Chevreuse. The note was addressed to the Coadjutor, and was as follows:—

"I cannot believe, notwithstanding the past, that M. le Coadjuteur is unfaithful to me. I therefore request to see him privately to-morrow; and that no one is informed thereof, excepting Madame, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The name signed will be his guarantee of safety.

"ANNE."

CHAPTER IV.

1649—1650.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA ARRESTS THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ, AND BESIEGES BORDEAUX.

MADAME DE CHEVREUSE, on her return home from the Palais Royal, found the Coadjutor conversing with her daughter. Without comment, she placed in his hand the Queen's note. Gondy took it reverently; he first kissed the paper, and then perused it with every mark of satisfaction and astonishment. A consultation ensued. Gondy acknowledged the importance of the crisis, and the great political gain which might ensue; but professed to disbelieve that the Queen would make those concessions, without which alliance with La Fronde was impossible. Condé also, having a presentiment that affairs were going badly for his interests, had endeavoured to conciliate the Coadjutor; and had offered to become his friend, and eventually to cause his innocence of the alleged assassination plot to be proclaimed, provided that Gondy would, out of homage to his authority, make a voluntary retreat of three months from Paris. MM. Noirmoutier and de Laigues, and Madame d'Aiguillon, presently

arriving at the Hôtel Chevreuse, joined in the consultation. Union with the court, and vengeance on Condé and his family, was strongly urged by all the eager debaters. The Duchesse de Chevreuse expatiated on the future with animation. She recapitulated all that the cause had suffered from the enmity of M. le Prince, who at that time last year was maturing his measures to undertake the siege of Paris. She praised the Cardinal; and showed that Condé, being thoroughly embroiled with Anne of Austria, and Monsieur being deprived of his favourite, La Rivière—that event being a necessary result of the *coup d'état*—the court and the government would become totally subservient to the principles of La Fronde. M. Molé, she asserted, overawed by the clamour of his more democratic colleagues, must acquiesce in the will of the Queen, when Mazarin, enfeebled and hated, would not dare to refuse them anything; while the Queen, "the creature of habit," might eventually select another minister, able and fascinating as the Cardinal, a Frenchman, and endowed with the invaluable qualification of popularity! The heart of the duchess leaped with wild excitement: a prospect of unbounded power lay before her eager eyes—the return of Châteauneuf; her restoration to all her old political importance; the payment of her debts; and the resumption of her influence over the mind of Anne of Austria! Gondy, more experienced in the changes and vicissitudes of political life, was not so sanguine. He understood the character of Anne of Austria, and appreciated the steadiness of her resentment, and her courage. Mazarin

also he comprehended better than the senseless herd of the Cardinal's detractors. Gondy, nevertheless, after deep meditation, declared his intention of seeing the Queen; so that after having ascertained her Majesty's views and wishes, he might determine whether a coalition with Mazarin was practicable, and desirable. He wrote to Anne as follows, and enclosed her note within his own letter. "Madame, I am not conscious of a single moment in my existence in which I have not been devoted to your service, for the which I would willingly sacrifice my life. Without a thought of personal security, I will be at any spot your Majesty may be pleased to command." *

Anne took the note from Madame de Chevreuse, and a smile of satisfaction crossed her face as she perused it. She then desired the duchess to tell M. le Coadjuteur to be, at midnight precisely, in the Cloître St. Honoré, where she would send a person to meet him. Precisely at the hour, Gaboury, usher to the Queen, appeared. The Coadjutor was pacing up and down under the cloister, dressed *en cavalier*, and eagerly looking out for her Majesty's envoy. Gaboury led him to the back entrance of the palace; and by a small kitchen postern the Coadjutor entered the Palais Royal. He was conducted through back passages, corridors, and up three flights of stairs, to the ante-room of Mazarin's suite. From thence he was taken through her Majesty's bath-room, bed-room, and into *sa petite*

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii. p. 70, *et seq.*

chambre grise, and left there in silence, and semi-obscurity. In a few moments the door of the adjacent oratory opened, and Queen Anne appeared, wearing a *robe de chambre* of blue velvet trimmed with ermine. Gondy threw himself at the Queen's feet, and kissed her hand, praying her to pardon all that he seemed to have done against her service. "The Queen testified to me all the kindnesses which her anger against M. le Prince probably inspired; though her goodwill towards M. de Mazarin seemed to me to surpass her resentment against the former. She repeated more than twenty times in the course of a short conversation the words *ce pauvre cardinal*, in speaking to me of the events of the late war."* Half an hour afterwards, Mazarin appeared, entering the Queen's closet unannounced. Anne's blandishments having been duly exercised on the susceptible fancy of the Coadjutor, his Eminence opened the important matters which had occasioned the interview, by observing to the Queen, in a kind of aside, "that nothing was so vexatious to him as not to have been able to procure a cardinal's hat for M. le Coadjuteur." Gondy here made some deprecating speech, according to his own account. Mazarin, taking up the thread of his discourse, added, "that the Queen intended to give him the hat demanded with so much insolence by La Rivière, and which he had forfeited by his perfidies." He then alluded to certain other graces, which he believed might be acceptable to M. le

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii., p. 70, *et seq.*

Coadjuteur, for his loyal deference to the Queen's commands—such as the post of Lord High Almoner, the payment of his debts, and the gift of the rich Abbey of Orcan. The Coadjutor thanked her Majesty, but added, addressing Mazarin—"There is one favour which, if her Majesty will grant, I should now esteem more than the tiara. Her Majesty has already hinted to me that she intends to arrest M. le Prince. The prison of so illustrious a prince, and a hero, cannot be eternal; when he regains his liberty, his royal highness will be exasperated against me; also, there are many other persons who must, with me, now share her Majesty's approbation, and the future indignation of M. le Prince. Madame, if you would, therefore, confer upon each of these said personages some eminent post, I should feel your condescension more than the gift of ten red hats." Anne glanced at the Cardinal and smiled:—"There is reason and much justice in what you ask," replied she graciously. "Confer with M. le Cardinal, and let me know the result. I must however make one condition, and request a promise from you not to impart my resolve relative to M. le Prince, to M. le Duc de Beaufort, who I know will forthwith betray it to Madame de Montbazon." Gondy, however, dexterously replied, that unless some signal grace was in reserve for M. de Beaufort, he should feel dishonoured if he concealed so important a transaction from his late colleague. "If your Majesty would permit me to promise M. de Beaufort the post of Lord High Admiral, it would have a marvellous effect in subduing his resent-

ment." "That office has been already promised to M. de Vendôme, and to his elder son, M. de Mercœur," sharply interposed Mazarin. Anne slightly frowned, and made a sign to her minister. "My penetration tells me," quickly rejoined the Coadjutor, "that among the mighty gifts in store for M. de Mercœur, the post of Admiral of France will not be missed!" Mazarin smiled, and said, addressing the Queen, that he would settle that affair also, with M. le Coadjuteur. The Queen then rose somewhat wearily; assuring Gondy of her future favour and approbation, she gave him again her hand to kiss, and desiring him to meet her at the same hour on the following evening, she glided through the door back into her oratory. Mazarin, then desiring the Coadjutor to follow him, led the way to his own apartments. There a conference of several hours ensued: time was precious; M. de Condé was energetic and suspicious—besides Anne desired a clear and prompt statement of the terms upon which reconciliation with the powerful faction, before whose machinations on that very day year she was preparing to retreat, might be negotiated. Gondy was shrewd and self-possessed; Mazarin felt the moment to be supreme, and still shuddered at the peril he had escaped when the union of Condé with La Fronde had all but been accomplished. Gondy, fully aware of his advantage, asked, for the Duc de Vendôme the post of Lord Admiral, the *survivance* of this great charge to be granted to his younger son, the Duc de Beaufort; the government of Charleville and Mont Olympe for Noirmoutier with the *brevet* of a duke; the

Great Seal for M. de Châteauneuf; the post of captain of the guard to Monsieur, for M. de Laigues; the government of Anjou for the Duc de Brissac; and a pension of 22,000 livres for M. de Serrigny. The red hat for the Coadjutor was understood to be stipulated for, if not expressed in the written compact. At dawn Gondy was conducted from the Palais Royal with the same mysterious secrecy, through the kitchen postern. On the following day he again saw the Cardinal, giving as the reason of his visit some affair connected with the archiepiscopate. Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, who had established very familiar habits at the Luxembourg, went thither to pour the first drop of suspicion into Monsieur's cup relative to M. de la Rivière, and his patron, M. de Condé. It is wonderful how well Anne's design was served by the passions and hatreds stirred up against M. le Prince: for by a touch of her sceptre her late foes had been converted into ardent partisans. Madame de Chevreuse drew a piteous picture of the duke's miserable dependence on La Rivière, whose audacity in asking, and accepting permission to betray her Majesty's counsel respecting M. de Condé, had reduced Monsieur to a cipher at court. "Her Majesty, you perceive, now tells you no important matter. M. de Condé dominates, and is, in fact, Lieutenant-General of the realm; for has not La Rivière signed away your royal highness's functions in the treaty concluded with M. le Prince, the Queen, and M. de Mazarin at their late reconciliation—a compact which the said La Rivière had not the decency to avow to you, his master!" Monsieur expressed him-

self as amazed and confounded at the mention of a treaty of which he had not the slightest knowledge. The duke was soon enlightened by the tongue of the duchess, who promised, for his satisfaction, to procure for him a sight of the said document. Monsieur happened to be in a mood to accept any insinuation against his favourite. La Rivière had recently deeply offended Monsieur in a tender point. One of the duchess's young maidens, Mademoiselle de Saujon, had long been persecuted by Monsieur's attentions. She, therefore, quitted the Luxembourg one fine morning, and entered the Carmelite nunnery, where, in spite of the duke's entreaties, she persisted in remaining. La Rivière, who was glad to get rid of the anticipated pretensions of this lady, and who moreover, desired to conciliate Madame, instead of sympathising with the duke, ridiculed his distress; and advised him to leave Mademoiselle de Saujon unmolested in her retreat. This advice produced an explosion of rage on the part of Monsieur, and a subsequent coolness, which was not mitigated when the artful Duchesse de Chevreuse assured him that rumour attributed Mademoiselle de Saujon's retreat to the counsels of La Rivière! Satisfied with her progress, the duchess went to the palace to see the Queen, and to report affairs. She found Anne exasperated as ever against Condé; who, restless and irritated at the passive resistance of the Chamber, and uneasy at the reports prevailing, had pressed the Cardinal with more than his usual vehemence relative to M. de Mercœur, and Laura Mancini, threatening

"*d'enlèver ces demoiselles et de les renvoyer en Italie!*" "It has also been reported to me that you see the Coadjutor in private—*entre chien et loup*, (at dusk hour); and that the said Coadjutor crouches along *en habit de cavalier*—is this true?" Condé bent his eagle gaze on Mazarin. His Eminence replied lightly, not a muscle betraying either emotion, or anger—"A charming figure M. le Coadjuteur would make in trunk hose, and bouquet, plumes, a red cloak and sword!—Ah, Monseigneur, if ever M. le Coadjuteur visits me in this costume, you shall have the pleasure of seeing him!" Condé, reassured, then roved into the Queen's saloon. Anne received him with smiles; and jestingly took him to task for all the *corvées*, and *mauvais tours*, with which he had recently treated her. "There is, Monsieur," said the Queen, "the affair of Pont de l'Arche, of M. de Jarzé, of Madame de Richelieu, of M. de Mercœur, and many others:* agree therefore, that you have sometimes repaid me badly for my confidence in you!" Condé turned and looked steadily in the Queen's face: it was placid and smiling. Anne then reverted to the more congenial topics of the Prince's grievances, and apprized him that a witness, one Descoutures, whose testimony was supposed to be likely greatly to implicate La Fronde, in the plot for his assassination, had at length been discovered by one of the *mouchards* of M. le Cardinal. The Queen, therefore, requested M. de

* Vie du Prince de Condé; Archives Curieuses; Aubéry, Vie de Mazarin; Gazette de France, ann. 1650; Mém. de Retz, t. ii.; Mém. de Montglât.

Condé to sign an *ordonnance* requiring a troop of light horse, and a battalion of *gendarmerie*, to assemble on the afternoon but one following, behind the Palais Royal, to arrest this said Descoutures. Condé's eagerness at once returned; his animosity against the faction, and his desire to implicate the chieftains was so absorbing as to divest his attention from his own danger. At night the Coadjutor again repaired to secret conclave with Anne of Austria. Prepared by her minister, Anne accepted all the articles stipulated by Gondy; who, on his side, made it a condition that the arrest of M. de Condé, together with that of MM. de Conty and de Longueville, should be at once accomplished. On a table in *sa petite chambre grise*, Anne affixed her signature to the compact: she promised her future favour to Gondy; and so intoxicated the latter by flattery and soft blandishments, that enthusiasm for the Queen's cause actually fired for a moment the breast of the Coadjutor.

The secret, meantime, had been carefully concealed; the Duc de Beaufort was ignorant of the great blow about to be struck; La Rivière reassured M. le Prince, by reiterating positively, that nothing hostile to his person or liberty was meditated by the court—a confidence fatal to the Prince. Monsieur, being duly prepared by the Duchesse de Chevreuse, went to visit the Queen. Anne took him aside, and after first exacting a solemn oath of secrecy, she poured into his astonished ear her design, and reiterated her intention to arrest the princes. Monsieur, when fairly in the hands of Anne of Austria, was helpless as a child: her

tears made him weep; her caresses transported him; her threats terrified him. Monsieur, during the interview, once rose, utterly scared, intending to quit the presence, and afterwards to act as on mature consideration he should see to be expedient. The Queen's fingers, however, closed over his arm with a grasp of iron; and turning a startled gaze back, he read such fierce determination on her countenance, while her other hand had closed tightly over a small bell on the table by her side, as compelled him to sink back powerless into his chair. In after days, Monsieur often expressed his firm conviction, that such was the state of fierce resentment actuating the Queen at this period, that had he left her at that time without having spoken the oath of secrecy, consent, and fidelity, that his own arrest would have ensued.

Madame la Princesse, meantime, inspired by a maternal instinct of danger brooding over the lives and liberty of her children, warned them all that danger lurked around; that the Queen was at times distant, and then, as if suddenly recollecting herself, *empressée*, and cordial. Condé disregarded these counsels, saying, that the Queen had never been more amiable, or the Cardinal more tractable. The Duc de Longueville being older and more prudent, sympathised with Madame la Princesse, and promised to leave Paris for Rouen. Conty, weary of the *rôle* of an agitator, agreed to accompany his mother to Chantilly. A council was to be holden at the palace on the 18th of January, at which an affair was to be decided affecting the pecuniary interests of the Marquis de

Beuvron, a friend of the house of Condé. Notices, therefore, were sent to all the three princes to attend the privy council, to be holden on the morrow, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld so far participated in the fears of Madame la Princesse, that he earnestly counselled the princes not to go altogether to the Palais Royal. During the morning of the 18th, Condé again visited Mazarin. Lyonne, under-secretary of state, was writing at a little table near to the desk of his Eminence. His occupation was making out the warrants for the signature of the Queen, which consigned the princes to the custody of the governor of Vincennes. The sharp glance of Condé rested for a moment on M. Lyonne, whom he disliked; but the latter contrived to hide his papers under the tablecloth, until the attention of the Prince was withdrawn by Mazarin. Again Condé asked concerning the reported midnight visits of the Coadjutor to the Palais Royal; but the ironical laughter, and steady gaze of Mazarin again allayed suspicion.*

Madame de Condé, meantime, visited the Queen, but was not admitted, and she therefore returned home more than ever distrustful of the attitude of the court. For the last time Madame la Princesse and her children dined together at the Hôtel Condé—the mother, once the loveliest woman in France; her hero son, Condé, then only twenty-eight years old, but the

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii.; Vie de Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé; Archives Curieuses, t. vii., viii.; Mém. de Motteville, de Montpensier, de Montglât, &c., &c.

conqueror in four pitched battles; her fair daughter, Madame de Longueville; and her young and delicate son, Conty, then only in his twentieth year. During the repast Madame de Condé wept a little, and implored her sons to excuse themselves from obeying the Queen's summons. She had no new fact to communicate, but a prevision of evil haunted her. Unable to prevail, the vigilant and tender mother went again to the Palais Royal before her sons, and was admitted to Anne's closet. Her Majesty, under pretext of indisposition, was lying on her bed, looking flushed and excited, and complained of headache. Condé presently arrived, and found his mother sitting by the Queen, and holding one of her hands. Condé, finding the Queen more than usually taciturn, soon quitted the room, and passed out into a narrow passage, which led from the Queen's bedchamber to the magnificent gallery where the council assembled. In this passage Condé met his Eminence on his way to seek the Queen. The two entered into discourse. The tone of the Prince was angry, and at times pathetic. He complained of the partiality of the Chamber; of the perfidy of La Rivière, and his master, who had abandoned him; of the malignancy of the reports in Paris; and of the drifting treachery of M. le Coadjuteur. He then declared that he should like to speak to M. de la Rivière, in the presence of the Cardinal. Mazarin listened with bland attention, and knowing that La Rivière was then in the palace, in the apartment of M. de Villeroy, he obligingly sent to summon him. La Rivière had some difficulty in

passing the guard chamber, as Guitaut and Comminges, having received their orders from the lips of their royal mistress, had been by her commanded to allow no one to pass, but the three princes. La Rivière, however, made such noisy protest, that Guitaut took upon himself the responsibility of giving him passage; in fear, lest the clamour might attract M. le Prince himself from the cage within which he was nearly entrapped. As soon as La Rivière made his appearance, Condé commenced a loud altercation, making many bitter jests on *la colique de Son Altesse Royale*, which it was pleaded so often prevented Monsieur's presence in the Chamber, and which had passed into a derisive byeword with members. This continued until the Prince de Conty and the Duc de Longueville arrived. Mazarin, whose *sang froid* never once deserted him, then made a motion towards the folding doors, which opened into the long gallery, calling M. Servien, and desiring him to inform her Majesty that they waited her gracious presence. Condé then entered the gallery, followed by his brother, and brother-in-law. La Rivière was likewise passing on, when Mazarin took his arm, and requested him to follow him to his apartment, as he had a little matter of importance to impart. The Chancellor, and two or three privy councillors were waiting round the table; and Condé commenced a conversation with M. d'Avàux, in momentary expectation of the presence of Anne of Austria, and the Cardinal-minister. In a few minutes M. Guitaut appeared. Condé, supposing that he had some private errand, advanced, and asked him in a whisper in what

he could serve him. "Monseigneur, I am ordered to arrest you, M. le Prince de Conty, and M. de Longueville!" This astounding intimation roused the proud blood of Condé. "You, M. Guitaut—you arrest me! In the name of God, return to the Queen, and pray her to grant me brief audience!" Guitaut sadly replied, that his errand would be of no avail, but that he felt bound to obey M. le Prince. He therefore slowly retreated from the apartment. Condé, meantime, turned to his companions in misfortune, who as yet were ignorant of their doom, as Guitaut had spoken in a whisper. "Messieurs," said the Prince, in great agitation, "the Queen arrests me; you also, my brother; and you, also, M. de Longueville! This award is terrible. I, who have so truly served my King and country, and who believed myself secure in the regard of M. le Cardinal!" He then requested the Chancellor to seek the Queen on his behalf; and made a similar petition to M. Servien to visit Mazarin. Séguier quitted the room, pale and trembling; having sufficient discernment to perceive that his own tenure of office was destined to be brief. A short interval of suspense ensued. M. Guitaut presently reappeared, followed by a detachment of *gardes de corps*, bearing drawn swords. "Monseigneur, the Queen cannot see you. Her Majesty commands us to execute her orders!" said Guitaut. With the composure of a great and heroic spirit in the hour of peril, Condé made no further resistance, but merely bending his head, said—"Let the Queen's will be accomplished. I obey. Where are you to conduct me?" "To the Bois

de Vincennes, Monseigneur," replied Guitaut. Meantime, M. de Comminges approached M. de Conty, who sat apart on a sofa, pale, nerveless, and weeping bitterly. At the touch of Comminges he rose, and followed his brother. M. de Croissy, at the same time, demanded the sword of M. de Longueville, a humiliation from which the two royal princes had been dispensed. The duke rose, but being still afflicted with gout, was obliged to be supported to the door, which opened on to a narrow and dark staircase, down which the prisoners were to descend to reach the garden postern —the very outlet through which, just one year previously, Anne of Austria had escaped to St. Germain, under the protection of the Prince de Condé. At the top step, Condé paused, and eyeing the dark descent, said—"Comminges, you are a man of honour. Have I nothing to fear?" "Monseigneur," replied Comminges, who was almost weeping at the duty imposed upon him, "believe that we have no other command, or intention than to conduct you to Vincennes." The prisoners then descended into the garden, their path along which * was lined with guards, who showed, by unmistakable tokens, their sympathy with the princes. Condé arrived first at the outer door—the progress of M. de Longueville being slow, or, as Madame de Motteville expresses, "he had one gouty leg, and did not find the occasion agreeable enough to press upon the other." Drawn up at the door was

* This walk in the old garden of the Palais Royal, is now Le Passage Radzivil.

a coach, surrounded by a squadron of light horse, under M. de Miossens; the very detachment which Condé, as colonel-general of cavalry, had ordered out for the capture of Descoutures, which the Queen had informed him would be effected during that afternoon. "Comrades," said Condé, "this is not like the battle of Lens!" The princes then entered the coach, which, with closed blinds, was driven off at a rapid pace through the Porte de Richelieu, towards Vincennes.*

Anne of Austria, during these transactions, retired to her oratory, with the young King, as there her seclusion, it was understood, was to remain unbroken. When Mazarin sent M. Servien to inform the Queen that the council had assembled, Anne rose hurriedly and dismissed the Princess of Condé, never more to see again that tried old friend—her powerful intercessor during the long dreary years of Richelieu's early persecutions. Instead of repairing to the council chamber, Anne took the King by the hand, and led him to the oratory. There she first informed Louis of the arrest of Condé, and kneeling at the altar, she bade him join her in earnest prayer for the success of an enterprise on which his crown depended. Condé's messages, therefore, were received by Mazarin, who, with La Rivière, waited the event in his apartment. The latter was struck with dismay and terror when he heard of the event, and was informed that it had been duly con-

* Vie de Condé; Aubéry; Gualdo; Leti; Siri; Montglât; Motteville; Talon; Mercuré Français; Gazette de France; Bibl. Imp., MSS. F. de Bethume.

fided to M. d'Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the realm; who had been considerately excused by her Majesty from being present at the arrest of his kinsmen. La Rivière knew, therefore, that he was lost; and that other influences had turned from him the regard of a master, whose conscience-keeper he had been for many a long year.

As soon as the coach conveying the prisoners had passed the Porte Richelieu, M. de la Vrillière conveyed to the Duchesse de Longueville orders that she should present herself at the Palais Royal, to receive in person the Queen's commands. Vrillière found the duchess at the house of Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine.* Unable to allay her disquietude, Madame de Longueville had repaired to pass away the afternoon in the society of her friend, who hitherto had taken little part in politics, but who was one of the most beautiful, and perhaps the cleverest woman in Paris. A gentleman of the household of M. de Conty had been the first bearer of the tidings to the duchess, who shrieked and fell to the ground. M. de Vrillière next appeared to deliver her Majesty's message. Madame de Longueville replied, that she would obey after seeing her mother. Accompanied by the Palatine, the duchess reached the Hôtel Condé in trembling dismay. In the saloon, with the Princess, were the Duc de la Roche-

* Anne de Gonzague de Nevers, second daughter of the Duc de Nevers and of Mantua, and of Catherine de Lorraine Guise, daughter of the Duc de Mayenne. She espoused, first, the Duc de Guise; secondly, Edward Count Palatine, third son of Frederic Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James the First, King of England.

foucauld, and M. de Brienne, who had been sent by the Queen. Madame de Longueville staggered forward and fell at her mother's feet, sobbing, "Oh, Madame, my brothers!" The Princess was yet ignorant of the arrest. She rose, in horror, and appealed to M. de Brienne. The secretary of state, therefore, advanced, and imparted the sad news; adding, that the Queen had sent him to notify, that which to her very great regret she had been compelled to do; and also to signify her command that Madame la Princesse with her daughter-in-law, and grandson, should instantly leave Paris for Chantilly. The grief of Madame la Princesse was heart-rending to witness; but Madame de Longueville, anticipating that her summons by the Queen would be followed by arrest, in which opinion she was confirmed by M. de la Rochefoucauld, was compelled to exert both courage, and address to escape that doom. She therefore made many humble protestations that she would be soon with the Queen, to intercede for M. de Longueville, and for her brothers; which promise appeared to satisfy the secretaries Vrillière, and de Brienne, though they were not deceived thereby. Madame de Longueville, after a few hasty preparations, entered a coach provided by M. de la Rochefoucauld, accompanied by her step-daughter, the grumbling, strong-minded Mademoiselle de Longueville; and, driven by the duke himself, sought a hiding-place in a little house situated in the Faubourg St. Germain, in the cellar of which she passed the night. Luckily for Madame de Longueville, she was able to accomplish her escape in the dark;

as the arrest of Condé happened at three o'clock in the afternoon of a dark January day. Her design was, escorted by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, to fly to the citadel of Rouen, and raise the flag of revolt throughout the wide extent of her husband's government. Orders had been simultaneously issued for the arrest of the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, Turenne, and of the President Perrault. Bouillon and his brother escaped in the disguise of boatmen, likewise favoured by the darkness of night; M. de la Rochefoucauld hid himself with Madame de Longueville, and with her he subsequently fled from Paris. The President de Perrault, therefore, alone enjoyed the honour of sharing the martyrdom of the princes, whose hot partisan he was.*

Condé and his fellow-prisoners meanwhile arrived at Vincennes, not, however, without many accidents. On the road, the carriage broke down, and rolled over. The Prince extricated himself, and leaping over a fence prepared to fly for his liberty. Miossens rushed after him in pursuit. "*Ah, Miossens,*" exclaimed Condé, "*si tu voulais*——" The words were overheard by Guitaut, Anne's devoted servant. He approached, pistol in hand, leaving the guard of the other prisoners to Comminges, his nephew. "Monseigneur," said he, "I am, as you are well aware, the humble servant of your

* Mém. de Retz; Langlade; Vie de Duc de Bouillon; Vie de Madame de Longueville; Cousin; Mém. de la Rochefoucauld; Montglât; Motteville; Gazette de France, ann. 1650.

Royal Highness; yet, rather than permit you to escape, I will shoot you. The Queen, my good mistress, shall have, please God, good account of the enterprise with which she has intrusted me!" The journey was then continued, the coach having been meantime righted. At ten o'clock, the frowning fortress came in sight. The princes were conducted to the donjon tower; but no preparations had been made for their reception. The chambers were damp and fireless; no provision was procurable; no beds were forthcoming. Eggs were at length produced; upon which, with coarse garrison bread, and a draught of water, the royal prisoners supped. Bundles of straw were next provided, upon which Condé sank, jesting and laughing at their plight, and falling asleep, slept for twelve hours without waking. The young Prince de Conty wept bitterly on his hard couch, sympathising with the plaints of M. de Longueville, who was suffering from the pangs of gouty distempers.* Another relation states that the princes sat up all night playing at piquet. Their discomfort, however, was not of long duration: the Queen, though arbitrary, was not ungenerous; and on the following day, rich furniture, books, valets, and cooks arrived from Paris, which soon transformed the aspect of their dreary prison lodgings.

The first person whom the Queen saw after the arrests was La Rivière, whom the Cardinal brought into

* Vie de Condé; Aubéry, Vie du Card. Mazarin; Desormeaux; Hist. de Condé; Montglât.

sa petite chambre grise, as a personage whom it was still politic to conciliate, in case one of those wonderful changes in Monsieur's mind, might restore the influence of the latter. The second person seen by the Queen was Mademoiselle. That enterprising young lady, having visited the Luxembourg, and finding her royal father in a fume, abstracted, whistling, with his hands thrust into the pockets of his coat, concluded that some unusual event was probably occurring at the Palais Royal. "I immediately went there," says Mademoiselle, "and found some of M. de Conty's people on the staircase. I asked what was passing above, and they replied that they did not know. I found the guard-chambers closed, and all the doors of the ante-chambers. At the door of the Queen's saloon stood two guards with carbines. Every one was eager to know what had happened, and I waited with the rest until the rising of the council. When it ended, the Queen was told that I was waiting to see her; she sent for me, and said, 'You are not sorry?' I replied, No, guessing what had been done. I then asked whether M. de la Rivière had been in the secret? 'You are very curious,' replied Anne of Austria. 'I requested Monsieur not to mention the matter to him. La Rivière arrived just as the rest were entering the gallery. M. le Cardinal, touching his elbow, said, 'Come into my room. I have something to say to you.' The room was full of soldiers; he then became pale, and asked, 'Is this for me, Monsieur?' M. le Cardinal told me he had difficulty to restrain his laughter. During this time Guitaut had arrested M. le Prince, and Com-

minges M. de Conty, and the Duc de Longueville. They were taken down by the little staircase and out through the garden, at the door of which one of my coaches, and the King's Light Horse waited.'" * The Queen, probably in her joy and relief at the termination of her suspense, would have added more; but a number of persons of the household advanced to congratulate her. After a few brief moments, she retired with the Cardinal.

During this momentous afternoon, the Coadjutor was shut up with his friend Laigues at the Hôtel Chevreuse, writing missives to all the curés of Paris, announcing the arrest of the princes, and desiring the said priests to notify the true facts from the pulpit, and throughout their respective parishes. Placards were also written by the Coadjutor, to be posted in the Marché Neuf, and on the Place Dauphine, and other principal thoroughfares of the capital. M. de Beaufort was also apprized of the astounding coalition with the court. Beaufort showed much displeasure and sullenness at not having been included in "the honoured seventeen" intrusted with the important secret; but the sight of the patent conferring the post of admiral on the Duc de Vendôme, and nominating himself as his father's successor in that honourable appointment soon restored the duke's usual bluff good temper. Madame de Montbazon was transported with joy and amazement, and rewarded the lucky Coadjutor with sundry hearty kisses. At five o'clock the Coadjutor,

* Mém. de Motteville; de Montpensier, t. i.

the Duc de Beaufort, MM. de Montrésor, de Fontrailles, de Brissac, and de Retz, paid a visit of ceremony to the Luxembourg. Monsieur was not yet recovered from his panic. He quaintly ejaculated, in reply to the congratulations of the Coadjutor, and Madame de Chevreuse: "Well, the Queen has made a grand haul; she has captured in her net a lion, a monkey, and a fox!" The duke was evidently uneasy in mind and restless; at a subsequent period he declared that he had never given free and hearty consent to the arrests, and would not voluntarily have even sanctioned the *coup d'état*. La Rivière was also present, and trying to put a good face upon the evident coldness with which he was regarded by his once adoring master. A great commotion, and rush of people in the vicinity of the Luxembourg soon after caused the triumphant Frondeurs to take leave of his royal highness. As soon as the arrest of Condé was ascertained a hundred gentlemen his adherents, headed by the Duc de Rohan Chabot, and by the Marquis de Beuvron, assembled in the courtyard of the Hôtel Condé. Indignation and despair prompted them to attempt some act of retaliation; it was therefore resolved to storm the convent of the Val de Grâce, and carry off the three young Mazarinettes as hostages for the safety of M. le Prince. Accordingly, the troop of cavaliers rode tumultuously through the streets to the Faubourg St. Jacques; while M. de Luxembourg, with a small number of followers, galloped on to the Pont Nôtre Dame, and rode through the intricate network of streets in that vicinity, falsely proclaiming that M. de

Beaufort had been arrested by Mazarin, in the hope of provoking an *émeute*. The party of hot-headed cavaliers, under Rohan, arrived at the stately portal of Val de Grâce, rang a violent peal, and commenced to batter the gates with the scabbards of their swords. The *tourière* appeared, and opening the gate, which fortunately was defended by an inner *grille*, demanded the pleasure of the noisy assailants. Amid tumultuous shouts for "*Les Nièces! Les Mazarinettes!*" the Marquis de Beuvron approached, and demanded to see Madame l'Abbesse. The abbess appeared at the *grille*, and solemnly assured the Marquis that M. le Cardinal de Mazarin had sent at mid-day for Mesdemoiselles ses Nièces; and that they had been conveyed from the convent in one of the Queen's coaches. Baffled in their malicious intent, the cavaliers retreated, hoping to foment the fray which M. de Luxembourg had been sent to excite. Queen Henrietta of England had said, "the people is a ferocious beast when roused." Condy's partisans therefore hoped that at the first echo of violence done to le Roi des Halles, that his loyal subjects would swarm from their dingy lairs, and without investigating the truth of the report, avenge their hero by barricades, and arms. The Coadjutor de Gondy on this occasion, however, was arrayed on the side of order, and loyalty. No emergency ever puzzled him. Comprehending at once the origin of the commotion, he compelled M. de Beaufort, still half sulky, and reluctant to get on his horse, and surrounded by a great escort of torch-bearers, to perambulate the streets, while

footmen proclaimed his approach. The streets swarmed with people shrieking for vengeance on the assailant of their hero. The well known liveries, and white *panache* of le Roi des Halles no sooner appeared than the threatening shouts subsided into admiring plaudits. The arrest of Condé was announced amid cheers; his past services, in the estimation of the mob, were cancelled by the siege of Paris; and bonfires soon blazed in honour of the event. From her hiding-place in the cellar of the Faubourg St. Germain, Madame de Longueville heard the cheers of the populace, and the great name of Condé pronounced with execration. A few days subsequently the people sang :—

" Dame Suzanne l'harangère
Faisant la bonne mesnagère
Criait çà et là dans Paris,
'Voilà Beaufort, qui l'on a pris !
Aux armes bourgeois, et bourgeoises,
Suivez moi, Nicole et Françoise ;
Et par Saint Jean, pour le r'avoir
Faut faire tout notre pouvoir !'

Après avoir repris haleine,
'Fort beau, ne courez pas si fort ;
Ce n'est pas le Duc de Beaufort,
C'est Condé, ce diable, qu'on mène,
Ce dit-on, au bois de Vincennes !
Mais voicy Beaufort qui s'avance,
Dessus son cheval en cadence,
Dont chacun se resouyt fort,
Criant tout haut : Vive Beaufort !' "

The last drama on this eventful day was the grand reception by the Queen of all the chieftains of the Fronde. The Palais Royal was beset with courtiers;

and the streets in the vicinity were blockaded with coaches, and liveried retainers of the lords now in the ascendant. The Queen entered her reception saloon about midnight, superbly attired in a violet velvet mantle, and looking serenely majestic, and gracious. The enthusiasm was great; the lords of the late league protested that they were the King's loyal servants, and the defenders of the Queen and her government; that the Cardinal might rely on their fidelity, for that, after such a master-stroke, they would never look upon him again as Mazarin! The eyes of the Queen sought anxiously the pale face of Mathieu Molé, and distinguishing him from amid the throng, she summoned him to her side. Molé inclined profoundly, but the expression of his face remained disturbed, and melancholy. Perhaps, while still under the influence of Molé's evident depression, the Queen said aloud, in reply to the animated congratulations of the Duchesse de Montbazon, "that she was very sorry to have been obliged to arrest M. le Prince, considering his high merit and birth, but that the welfare of the realm had replaced all other considerations; nevertheless, she could not accept congratulations, and would have esteemed herself happy indeed, if M. de Condé had not compelled her to such an extreme measure." The league between Frondeur and Mazarinist had scarcely been ratified, when the Queen's words, like a minute atom predisposing to premature decay, dropped into its midst. Her words were remembered with jealous umbrage. The following day Anne addressed a letter

to the High Court recapitulating the motives which had occasioned the arrest of the princes; and giving royal assurance that, despite the violation of Article IV. of the declaration of the 24th of October, she had no intention of annulling that celebrated decree. The ground therein stated upon which Condé had been consigned to Vincennes, "was his insolent defiance of authority and the respect due to the throne,* the said Prince having on many occasions in the presence of the Queen Regent in council, burst forth into explosions of temper, to the extent of menacing and even striking with his hand, persons present; while his disrespect to the crown, in the affair of the Duc de Richelieu, and in that of the Marquis de Jarzé, filled up the measure of his insolence, which could not be even alluded to without extremity of indignation." The excessive power of MM. de Condé, Conty, and de Longueville was also stated in justification of their arbitrary arrest, "these said persons being governors of Burgundy, Champagne, Normandy, Bresse, and Berri; and commanding, therefore, the navigation of all the great rivers in the realm." The High Court received the royal explanations with deference; and an address to the Queen was voted, approving of her act, and condoning the violation of "*l'article de la sureté publique*," in an emergency of such importance. Molé, however, declined to be the spokesman of this deputation, so gravely was

* Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, et du Parlement de Paris; Archives du Royaume, No. 31, cot.; Talon, Mém.; Aubéry, Vie de Card. Mazarin.

he offended by the violation of his charter; and by the testimony which the summary arrests afforded, that Anne considered herself bound thereby, only in such degree as she considered to be justified by events. The Queen promised, however, in respect to the President Perrault, that his case should be judged and provided for, in strict conformity to the decree.

The lords, friends and allies of the house of Condé, deemed themselves, however, still strong enough to defy the Queen, and her minister. The Duc de Bouillon fled from Paris, and raised the standard of revolt in Limousin. Turenne escaped to the stronghold of Stenay, and assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the army for the deliverance of MM. les Princes. The Duc de la Force, Turenne's father-in-law, retired into Perigord. The Duc de St. Simon retreated to his government of Blaye. The Count de Boutteville, after challenging the Duc de Beaufort to single combat, and publishing a libel of singular indecency and virulence against the Queen, and Mazarin, fled to the castle of Bellegarde. Numbers of gentlemen, rich and valiant, followed these chieftains: the entire realm seemed alive with disaffection, and ready to break forth into a terrible conflagration of civil contest.

At dawn, meantime, on the 19th, the morning following the arrest of Condé, Madame de Longueville fled from Paris, escorted by forty horsemen retainers of M. de la Rochefoucauld, commanded by their duke in person. The airs, and languishing graces of

the duchess disappeared in the urgency of her peril, and her desire to raise the standard of revolt in Normandy. Mazarin, however, had anticipated her; and strict orders had been sent to M. d'Harcourt to hold himself on the alert for sudden and eminent service. She reached Rouen on the 20th of January. The Marquis de Beuvron was commandant of the citadel under the Duc de Longueville, and devoted to his chief: but his lieutenant refused to permit the duchess to enter the fort, while symptoms of popular devotion to the royal cause were so clearly manifested, that Madame de Longueville, her step-daughter, and three or four gentlemen fled from Rouen, and made the best of their way towards Hâvre de Grâce, feeling confidence in the fidelity, and affection of the new Duchesse de Richelieu. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld, meanwhile, left the duchess by her own desire, and proceeded to join M. de Bouillon in Limousin, from whence they levied troops, and commenced negotiations with the malcontent Bordelais. Before the fortress of Hâvre, Madame de Longueville met with a cruel, and most unexpected repulse. The Duc de Richelieu peremptorily refused her admission into the town, and even hinted that his duty required him to compass her arrest, her object being rebellion against her liege, King Louis. The duchess sent to offer refreshments to her old friend, but accompanied with the bitter counsel, "to return to Paris, and submit herself to their Majesties." With a heavy heart Madame de Longueville then turned towards Dieppe, the citadel of

which was in the hands of an old and faithful retainer of Longueville. The fugitive, faint from grief, cold, hunger, and fatigue, at length found there a haven of refuge. Revived presently, by rest and meditation, her courage and resource was again put forth. She caused the royal standard to be torn from the keep, and the banner of Condé to be hoisted in its place; she visited every part of the castle, inspected the military stores, and proclaimed that she would defend herself to the death against the oppressors of the realm; and never lay down arms until her husband, and brothers had recovered their freedom.

Anne of Austria was now omnipotent and mighty: not one of the King's subjects in Paris dared to gainsay her will; the fugitive lords were wanderers; and no resistance had as yet been organised. The Queen had successfully lulled the vigilance of the Parliament; she had imprisoned the royal princes, and lured Monsieur to unwilling acquiescence in her projects. The Coadjutor and the lords of the Fronde were as yet fresh as allies; they were hopeful, and feared to avert the *bienveillance* of the crown by any premature indication of independence, and of a state policy of their own. The Queen was fearless, and determined on the course which she eventually pursued; she would drive, she said, all malcontents, all cavillers at her government beyond the limits of the realm! At this period, it has been surmised—an interval during which Anne was possessed of more despotic power than at any other period, past or future, of her regency—that she

resolved to consecrate, by the benediction of the Church, those ties, which for some years had tacitly bound her to Mazarin. The Cardinal, it has been averred—though without the confirmation of a particle of published, or documentary evidence to support the assertion—alarmed at the success of his *coup d'état*, and, being of the same opinion as the Coadjutor, that so illustrious a personage as M. de Condé could not be condemned to perpetual prison, gave Anne of Austria the alternative of confirming their relations by a *bonâ fide* marriage solemnised in private—which alliance would compel her Majesty never to abandon, or sacrifice him to the clamour of faction—or to give him permission forthwith to retire from the realm. Anne of Austria, it is said, elected to keep her able minister, even at the sacrifice of her royal dignity by a *mésalliance*. At the altar of her oratory in the Palais Royal, at midnight, Anne of Austria is said, therefore, to have accepted Giulio Mazzarini for her second husband—the famous St. Vincent de Paul, performing the nuptial mass some time between the 10th of January, and the 1st of February of the year 1650. Not a particle, nor even a *soupçon* of evidence exists to prove this fact: conjecture has simply embodied the thought into assertion. Not one of Anne's intimates, commencing with Madame de Motteville, and Madame de Beauvais, give any reason, in their respective writings, to suppose that they were cognizant of such an event. Mazarin was not in priest's orders; and it has, therefore, been alleged that he could lawfully contract matrimony. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous; he had

been admitted to the sacred functions of Holy Church as a deacon, and had, therefore, taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, as fully as if consecrated to the priest's office. The letters, hereafter to be discussed, addressed by Mazarin, to Anne of Austria during the few months of his exile, have been studied and unjustly amplified in order to find therein ground for the assertion of their marriage. Signs and ciphers, of which no key exists, have been arbitrarily interpreted into expressions of conjugal endearment. Anne of Austria was one of the most haughty and intolerant of princesses:—the *sangre azul* of her princely ancestry, Catholic Kings of Spain, and Emperors of Austria, was a theme on which she fondly boasted; and to assert that she voluntarily sullied such descent by marriage with the able son of Colonna's steward, is to argue against all knowledge of her character, and her feelings, which have descended to us in the records of contemporary history. It has been seen in the pages of her "Married Life" that the Queen did not altogether abjure the tender passion. The Duke of Buckingham's assiduities seriously damaged the fair fame of Anne of Austria; while the surprise one day, by Louis XIII., of the handsome Duc de Montmorency on his knees before the Queen, and the subsequent discovery of her portrait bound round his arm on the field of Castelnaudarey are supposed to be facts, which closed up every avenue of mercy in the King's heart towards the then convicted traitor. Having such antecedents, it is not a matter of surprise, that reports grew and flourished relative to the extraordi-

nary favour, and the undeviating support lavished by Anne of Austria on an Italian churchman of mediocre birth; who was decried, hated with a jealous hatred, and whose singular abilities were not then apparent amid the thick haze of disaffection, as they now stand out with shining light in this our century. The Queen was totally regardless of appearances; and the thought never seems to have disturbed her mind as to what might be the public opinion on her intimate association at all times, and all hours, with her minister in their midnight interviews, and on the proximity of their apartments in the Palais Royal. Nevertheless, the Queen had not feared to dismiss Madame de Beauvais, who had for years slept at the foot of her bed; she had also in her letters to the Parliament on the arrest of the princes, alluded to the clandestine marriage of the Duc de Richelieu; and to the slanders propagated by M. de Jarzé, as high crimes towards the crown—which allusions she could not have ventured upon, having herself a guilty conscience in such matters. Philip IV. of Spain, Anne's brother, that most solemn and mighty of all autocrats, greeted his sister affectionately at a subsequent period—a welcome he never would have accorded to an Infanta Queen, who had so far forgotten the claims of blood as to become the wife of Mazarin. The sole testimony of any repute against Anne and Mazarin, is that of Madame, the second wife of her son Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. The Queen had been dead fifty-six years, and Mazarin sixty-one years, when the duchess wrote

thus:—"The late Queen-mother gave herself little anxiety about the Cardinal de Mazarin; he was not a priest, and therefore could marry. All the circumstances of this marriage are now well known. The secret passage by which he used every night to visit the Queen, exists still at the Palais Royal."* The Duchess also says, that Madame de Beauvais knew of the marriage, which was the reason of her favour. But if Madame de Beauvais knew assuredly of the Queen's union with Mazarin, she would not have recommended, and therefore have been cashiered for a year, for favouring, the suit of M. de Jarzé. Madame in her coarse letters is mendaciously witty; and to make up a good story is not sparing in her embellishments of facts. At this period Anne of Austria had entered her forty-ninth year, and Mazarin had completed the forty-eighth year of his age. Reason at this period of life generally dominates over passion, and subdues the rash, and daring impulses of youth. The mother of Louis Quatorze would scarcely have imperilled her future position at the court of her son by marriage with Mazarin, whatever credit may be placed in the assertion—certainly in many instances strong—that like, as in earlier days, she had yielded to a *tendresse* for Buckingham and Montmorency, she accorded a similar degree of favour to Mazarin. In the correspondence between Anne and her minister many flattering, and hyperbolical phrases occur from the Cardinal's pen. Mazarin was Italian, and the

* Lettres de Madame Palatine, Duchesse d'Orleans, edited by M. Brunet, t. ii., p. 373.

poetical idiom of his tongue, when converted into French, sounds unnatural and strained. He was a man of many protestations, and *suave* address even to his bitterest foes; besides, his royal mistress loved that high pitched style of adulation, and lover-like compliments and simile, so familiar to the Spanish scholar in the pages of Anne's contemporaneous countryman, Calderon. In the difficult and untoward circumstances in which Anne of Austria found herself, existence would have been intolerable under the weight of anxiety and suspense which bore her down, unless she had had an adviser, able, attached, and devoted to the royal interests apart from any faction whatever. The rebellion of La Fronde in the nineteenth century, with its fights, paltry jealousies, selfish politics, and prurient libels—a rebellion, in short, as Hume happily expresses it, "unennobled by the true spirit of liberty"—appears contemptible, and one which, from its internal dissensions, must have given promise of speedy collapse: nevertheless, in its day the conspiracy appeared terribly real. The *cri de guerre* was Mazarin; but the true object aimed at by the rebels was the arbitrary prerogative of the crown. The royal exchequer was empty; and the ordinary resources of Louis' predecessors on such emergencies, had been cut off by the revolt of the Parliament. The thrones of Europe also had been shaken by the terrible events in England; but the universal horror inspired by the crime of regicide, arrested in France a progress onwards which there had led to so dire a calamity. The princes, by their selfish

insubordination, were the source of the evils which afflicted the realm. Their lax loyalty had enabled the Parliament of Paris to tear from the reluctant Queen her assent to the famous Declaration of the 24th of October, in itself a charter of constitutional liberty, ample as France could have desired: while their subsequent threats, and supreme haughtiness prevented the Chamber from upholding this precious edict; and enabled Anne, by cleverly appealing to their prejudices and interests, to violate the compact whenever she thought fit—thus prolonging indefinitely the period of anarchy and disaffection.

Power, however, after the 18th day of January, 1650, was at length in the hands of Anne of Austria. The withdrawal, or flight of the noblemen from Paris was followed by swift edicts of outlawry, and degradation from dignities. No sooner had the flight of the Duc de Bouillon been reported, than Guitaut and his famed regiment of *gardes de corps* repaired to arrest the Duchesse de Bouillon. An hour before Guitaut entered her house, Madame de Bouillon had given birth to her tenth child.* Her chamber, nevertheless, was filled with soldiers; and drawing aside the curtain of her bed, M. de Guitaut placed his hand on her shoulder, and declared her arrested in the King's name. Fortunately Anne of Austria did not insist upon her prisoner being forthwith conveyed to the Bastille: but guards were left in the ante-chamber of her apartment, with orders to see the duchess once

* Mauricette de la Tour d'Auvergne, who married, in 1668, Maximilian Duke of Bavaria.

at least in every hour; while sentinels paced round the Hôtel, and through its broad corridors. The Princess Palatine was ordered to remain in her house during the King's pleasure, for her suspected complicity in the escape from Paris of the Duchesse de Longueville. Orders were sent down by the Queen to the High Court, to proclaim the innocence of MM. le Coadjuteur, and de Beaufort, in the late alleged conspiracy to assassinate M. de Condé, which plot was of doubtful origin, and not proven; and to arrest all further proceedings. This command was obeyed with acclamation, although a manifest violation of the liberty of the Chamber. M. de Jarzé was summarily dismissed from his dignity as one of the four captains of the body-guard, and ordered to quit Paris; while his office was bestowed again, on the Count de Charost. M. de Mercœur was sent for by the Queen, and the ceremony of his betrothal with Laura Victoria Mancini was performed in her Majesty's presence, in the chapel of the Palais Royal—the Queen deferring the ceremonies, and *fêtes* of the marriage until after her return from a campaign in the provinces.

The flight of Madame de Longueville into Normandy, and her attempt to raise the standard of revolt in that important province, kindled the keenest irritation in the bosom of Anne of Austria. Breathing defiance and vengeance one fine morning, February 1st, 1650, just twelve days after the *coup d'état* of the arrest of Condé, Anne of Austria sallied forth from the Palais Royal, "to pursue and crush her enemy."

Mazarin applauding the Queen's energy, was commanded to attend her Majesty. M. d'Harcourt was summoned by express, to gather together his army, and to give rendezvous to the sovereign at Rouen. The Queen travelled in a coach as far as Senlis; but her spirit soon chafing at this slow mode of locomotion, she mounted on horseback, and attended by a troop of horsemen galloped, without once drawing bridle, into Rouen, leaving the young King, with Mazarin, to follow. Anne was received at the citadel by the lieutenant of M. de Beuvron, and by the Count d'Harcourt, who had diligently obeyed her command, and occupied Rouen with a division of his army. She alighted, and without pausing to take rest or refreshment, proceeded to give audience, and to write despatches with her own hand to the various commandants of forts in the province, who were ordered, within three days, to present themselves before the King. Long before Mazarin arrived, expresses, and messengers on the King's service were flying hither and thither throughout Normandy. The Duc and Duchesse de Richelieu were among the personages summoned. With her own hand the Queen addressed the new duchess, and informed her that the recognition of her marriage depended on the fidelity of the duke to the royal cause. The governor of Pont de l'Arche, that fortress which the Queen had yielded with such heartache to the Duc de Longueville, to satisfy the importunities of Condé, received a missive ordering him to present himself at Rouen on the day but one following. M. de

Plessis Bellière was finally despatched by the Queen to Dieppe, at the head of a considerable force, with a *lettre de cachet* for the Duchesse de Longueville, commanding her to resign the fortress, and to retire to Coulomniers. Madame de Longueville, however, did not intend to strike her flag so easily. She summoned M. de Montigny, commandant of Dieppe, and asked him whether he would vow fidelity to the princes in their present abasement, and afterwards share their undoubted triumph? Montigny replied, "that he had not means, nor desire to resist the mandate of the King, and that he, therefore, humbly counselled her to retire to Coulomniers." M. de Plessis, meanwhile, was kept without the town of Dieppe, having preceded the troops sent, out of reverence for the sex and rank of the duchess, as he asserted; though it was afterwards rumoured that he had been charged by the Queen on the expected surrender of the duchess, to escort her a prisoner to the fortress of Montargis. Mademoiselle de Longueville, who, very much against her will, had shared the flight of her step-mother, gladly availed herself of this opportunity to withdraw from her company, and forthwith retired to Coulomniers. Madame de Longueville next made an attempt to incite the citizens of Dieppe to hold out against Mazarin; and to reply to the Queen's summons, "that if her Majesty, with the King, without M. de Mazarin, would approach Dieppe, the town would readily submit." The good citizens of Dieppe, however, in grave affright, assured the duchess that they had not the least intention to disobey the royal

commands; but on the appearance of the King's troops, which M. de Plessis announced, they intended to open the gates of their town. The mayor, however, considerately promised to intercede for the duchess; but to her rage and mortification declared that she could not be permitted to leave the city, except under the escort of her Majesty's envoy. Madame de Longueville therefore returned to the citadel, and half-an-hour afterwards escaped in disguise from Dieppe, followed by M. de St. Ibal, and by two women.* She crept cautiously, in the bleak twilight, to the little fishing village of Ailly, two leagues from Dieppe. In the offing was a ship at anchor, the captain of which had been previously bought over to her service by an enormous bribe, to take her to Amsterdam, in case she was compelled to fly from France. The night was tempestuous, and the waves dashed furiously upon the shore. Amid this dismal raging of the elements, Madame de Longueville presently stood dauntless, surrounded by her weeping women, employing all her powers of persuasion to induce three sturdy fishermen to put to sea, and to row her to the ship. In vain they told her that no boat could live on that raging sea; and that their lives would probably be the sacrifice of so rash an enterprise. The duchess persisted, and, melted at length by her entreaties, and costly bribes, the fishermen launched their boat. After many fruitless attempts to put off, fortune seemed to

* Vie de Madame Longueville; Desormeaux, Hist. de Condé; Prioli, De Rebus Gallicis.

favour the duchess; the boat was fairly launched, and made some little distance from shore towards the ship. A hurricane of wind, however, rose, and a tremendous wave broke over the boat, washing all its occupants into the sea. One of the fishermen seized Madame de Longueville by her dress, and succeeded, after much battling with the elements, in bearing her to shore, alive, but insensible. Fortunately her women were also rescued. On recovering her senses, Madame de Longueville tried in vain to induce the men to make another trial. The violence of the storm increased, and as there was no chance of reaching the ship, to stay at Ailly became perilous. The duchess, therefore, wandered on foot for three leagues further, and asked shelter and hospitality from a gentleman, a cousin of M. de St. Ibal; so great was her terror at falling into the power of Anne of Austria. The next night she again tried to embark at Ailly, and was just getting into the boat, favoured by a clear night and smooth sea, when M. de St. Ibal came rushing down to arrest her progress, as he had discovered, he said, that the captain of the vessel had been bribed by Mazarin to land her at Brest, where she was to be consigned to the fortress. Whether the statement was true or not, the risk was too terrible to encounter. With a moan of distress, the fugitive again turned from the coast, and wandered away in disguise, begging her bread and nightly shelter for ten days, her spirit still unsubdued, and her courage glowing for the cause of the princes. Some friend at length favouring her escape, negotiated with the captain of an English vessel in the port of Hâvre. The duchess, still in

disguise, succeeded in getting on board, and was at length landed in Holland; where, after a few days sojourn at Amsterdam to recruit, she joined M. de Turenne at Sténay.*

Queen Anne, meantime, was acting with decision and promptitude. She sent troops to invest Pont de l'Arche; but M. Chambois, lieutenant under the Duc de Longueville, capitulated. Caen also followed the same example. M. de la Croissette was deposed, and a nephew of M. de Comminges accepted the provisional command. M. de Beuvron was likewise ordered to resign his command in Rouen; his late escapade in Paris in aid of Condé having greatly angered the Queen. Anne appointed a M. de Trouville, one of her devoted officers of the body-guard, to hold Rouen, which was of course considered as the key of the province. The Duc and Duchesse de Richelieu, meantime, arrived in Rouen, and were confirmed in their government of Hâvre de Grâce. The new duchess was, on the whole, graciously received, and was permitted to take her *tabouret* at court. The Queen's final act of rigour was to declare the Duc de Longueville degraded from his high commands, which included the forfeiture of his government of Normandy. Anne conferred this important command on the Count d'Harcourt, and herself presented him to the President, and Parliament of Rouen, as her faithful, and able servant. Anne remained at Rouen until the 22nd of February;

* Mém. de Motteville, de la Rochefoucauld; Vie de Condé; Lettres de Guy Patin; Prioli, De Rebus Gallicis, lib. v.

having then completely restored the royal power over Normandy, she returned to Paris, determined to make a campaign into Burgundy, that province being a stronghold of the Condé family. On her way to Paris, the Queen rested one day at Gaillon, the superb country seat of the archbishops of Rheims; and there she received an express from the Count d'Harcourt announcing the embarkation of the Duchesse de Longueville. The Queen, on her return, received the *faction Frondeuse* with the greatest favour. The Coadjutor was flattered, and consulted to the full bent of his ambition. Monsieur, unhappy and forlorn in the absence of La Rivière—who had wisely gathered together his worldly substance, whilst it still remained to him, and had retired to his mansion of Petitbourg—courted Gondy, and often paid him a visit at dusk hour, to talk and bewail his adverse condition. Such an opportunity was not lost on the subtle and clever Coadjutor: the possessor of Monsieur's confidence was a power in the realm; for the duke, as lieutenant-general of the realm, was the only individual legally privileged to oppose the Queen's decisions; and without whose sanction nothing of importance could be accomplished. Monsieur, therefore, soon found the Coadjutor's pleasant company, and useful hints indispensable to his existence. The Luxembourg from thenceforth was open to him at any hour of the day or night; which privilege comprehended personal access to the presence of Monsieur at will. Anne was indescribably annoyed at this clever overreaching on the part of Gondy. The latter, however, seemed so

humble and unconscious that he had gained anything by Monsieur's sudden fancy for his society, that nothing further could be said, lest the supposition might tend to the accomplishment of a fact so deprecated. The Queen, meantime, resolved to fulfil her promise and restore M. de Châteauneuf, which engagement she was aware, was regarded by La Fronde as a test of the permanence of her good will. Not that Anne in her heart liked to reinstate the minister whose exile she had so strenuously enforced during the early days of the regency. She was biding her time; and in the face of the revolt in Burgundy and Guyenne, considered that conciliation was yet her best policy. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, M. de la Vrillière went to the Chancellor Séguier, and demanded the great seal in the name of her Majesty, who, to her very great regret, was compelled by circumstances to intrust it into other hands. Séguier submitted with good grace. Anne had previously soothed the feelings of the old man; and in resigning the seals, he said, "that he was well aware that her Majesty, in depriving him, was not consulting her own wishes." On the following day, Vrillière went to Montrouge to present a letter from the Queen to M. de Châteauneuf. He received it with ill-concealed elation; and the smile of gratified pride which beamed over his shrunken features was reflected on the face of Madame de Chevreuse; who, faithful to her old friendship, had arrived at Montrouge to support him by her presence on the occasion. In the duchess's coach Châteauneuf travelled to Paris, and proceeding to the Palais Royal, received the seals, and a gracious

reception. Anne spoke well, and made allusion to the period when, through Châteauneuf's fidelity to herself and Madame de Chevreuse, he had fallen under the terrible ban of Richelieu. Mazarin greeted Châteauneuf no longer as a dreaded enemy; but offered him a splendid apartment in the Hôtel Mazarin, until his own mansion was ready for his reception. "The Queen," relates Madame de Motteville, "was nevertheless displeased at the joyous reception which every one gave to Châteauneuf. She said that she did not understand why so much fuss should be made with that man; and that all were deceived if it were supposed that he would be more than he now was. In fact, her Majesty made a very resolute determination that her old servant Châteauneuf, who had been disgraced in former days for his fidelity to her service, should never succeed in taking her confidence by storm, the which she had resolved evermore to withhold from him." The Queen made a further sacrifice of her own private policy by confirming the son of M. Broussel as governor of the Bastille; which by the treaty of Ruel had been left him provisionally, at the intercession of M. Molé. "The Queen sent for this Broussel, and giving him her hand to kiss, assured him of favour in full court circle; a thing her Majesty did by the advice of Mazarin, who desired to gain time to dissimulate, and to get each day tided over comfortably, until the great event of the majority of the King."

On the 5th of March Anne was again in her saddle, on her way to Bellegarde, a stronghold of

Burgundy, which was the only place in the province which had dared to resist the mandate of the King. Mazarin stayed behind in Paris for a few days to watch the workings of the privy council, and the conduct of Châteauneuf in relation to Monsieur, and to the Coadjutor. M. le Tellier was then left behind by the Cardinal to watch the actions of his colleagues of the council, to report the public temper, and to exercise strict surveillance over the apparently favoured *faction Frondeuse.*

The fate of Condé, meantime, had called forth no public sympathy: no Parliament remonstrated; no insurrection was threatened; even the nobles seemed more intent on gaining concessions from the crown, than in interceding on behalf of so noble a prince. All Normandy had suffered the royal ascendency, and cheered the Queen for her valiant energy. The Duc de Vendôme entered Dijon and struck from its battlements the noble flag of Condé. The Count de St. Aignan seized Bourges; the Marquis de Persan was dislodged from Mouson. The towns of St. Jean de Losne and Verdun capitulated. Bellegarde, alone made fight for the prince its governor; and before this fortress Anne of Austria was leading her son, the King. Champagne made no effort for the Prince de Conty, its governor; Damvilliers routed its garrison, the men of the town performing military duties until the will of the King should be known. The life of activity, mental as well as physical, which the Queen was now leading, suited her temperament—never had

she been better in health, more vigorous, and self-reliant. The relaxation of the hard tyranny of Condé seemed to have infused fresh spirit, and fresh enterprise; the young King also appeared to have derived new life, as riding proudly by the side of his mother, he looked a king. His perfect horsemanship, and perfect manner delighted even casual spectators. His figure was slight and tall for his age, his features pale and handsome, the dark eyes having a peculiar expression of attraction, which all familiar with Pettitôt's beautiful miniature of Louis XIV. in his eighteenth year, will recall. Anne of Austria had reason to be proud of her son, and to predict great things from his future reign. Unhappily the troublous times, and perpetual disquiets, had prevented the education of the King from being developed, as were his outward, and acquired gifts. Of learning he had none; he was accomplished but not profound. He read the character of men by intuitive instinct, and he had learned to distrust protestations, and political creeds. From his mother he inherited beauty of person, unshakable firmness of character, gracious address, quickness of apprehension, the gift of making easy acquisition of languages, deep piety, devoted attachment to the Holy Catholic faith, but also an overbearing notion of his prerogative as a king, and of his position in particular, as very Christian King. To his mother Louis was devoted, serving her and hovering round her, a very *preux chevalier* in his homage, and resenting her wrongs—manifesting an attachment and love which was never shaken, never diminished—not even in

after years, when the smiles of younger women sought to efface that holy influence.

The Queen and her son spent eleven days in their journey from Paris to Dijon, as they visited the various fortresses *en route* to confirm the garrisons in their allegiance. Mazarin received their Majesties on their arrival in Dijon on the 16th of March. Meantime, the Duc de Vendôme besieged Bellegarde, and there the King and his mother arrived on the 24th of the same month. Louis, followed by a brilliant *entourage* of officers, appeared before the fortress, and rode round the intrenchments. Anne had wept when she permitted him, partly out of policy, and partly in deference to his own urgent request, to undertake this progress. The batteries of the fortress opened fire upon the party; and the Count de St. Mathieu, who was riding near the King, had his arm carried off by a cannon-ball. The cheers of the besieging soldiery, however, at length attracted the attention of the garrison of Bellegarde; and the knowledge that their King was indeed below, excited also the enthusiasm of the besieged. The cannonade ceased, the soldiers on the ramparts waved their caps, exclaiming, "*Vive le Roy!*" cheering so gallantly that their acclamations reached the ear of the Queen. All splashed with mud, heated, and excited, Louis, however, returned into camp from his first military progress with a heart seared, and angered; that ball, which had inflicted a mortal wound on his equerry, and from which he himself had been so miraculously preserved, had also its influence in mould-

ing the despotic character of the future sovereign, who was hereafter to hold France crushed, and submissive beneath his royal sceptre. Bellegarde capitulated eventually; and so the whole of Burgundy and Champagne—with the exception of the frontier town of Stenay, which harboured the sister of Condé, and M. de Turenne—submitted to the King. The government of Champagne was given to the Marshal de l'Hôpital; and that of Burgundy to the Duc de Vendôme; and the Count de St. Aignan was installed over Berri, in which province Montrond still held for the princes.*

While their majesties remained at Dijon, their affairs in Paris, administered by so many keen intellects and froward wills, were not flourishing. The Duchesse de Bouillon had managed to escape from *surveillance* by the heroism of her young daughter, only,† however, to be recaptured, and to exchange the comforts of her mansion for a prison lodging in the Bastille. Mademoiselle de Bouillon came every day at dusk hour to visit her mother, who was approaching convalescence. One evening the duchess quietly slipped from her bed, and being a woman of slight, and small stature, managed to creep from the chamber behind her daughter, who had requested the soldier on guard to light her along the corridor to her own apartment. Mademoiselle de Bouillon, who had to pass the head of a staircase which descended to the kitchen offices,

* Mém. de Retz, de Montglât; Aubéry, Vie du Card. Mazarin.

† Elizabeth de La Tour d'Auvergne became the consort of the Prince d'Harcourt, eldest son and heir of the Duc d'Elbœuf.

marched majestically on, preceded by the soldier obsequiously carrying the light. Madame de Bouillon, therefore, darted down these stairs and sought refuge in a cellar wherein wood was deposited, and which had a grate opening into a yard. The courteous soldier, receiving the thanks of the stately little damsel for his services, returned to his guard in the antechamber of the prisoner's room, the door of which had been closed by a faithful *femme de chambre*. Madame de Bouillon, meantime, was speedily succoured and helped up from the vault by a servant in whose house she sought shelter, waiting an opportunity to join her husband in Limousin. Her escape was discovered an hour afterwards, by the officer on guard marching in, as usual, to take a survey of the invalid. Search was instituted all over Paris, but in vain. Unfortunately, the fright and anxiety had too powerfully affected Mademoiselle de Bouillon, and after undergoing a severe examination, she was carried to her bed greatly indisposed. Next morning her malady had increased, and soon developed into small-pox. The devoted mother, hearing of her child's danger, came forth from her hiding-place to watch by her bed. A warrant was then issued by M. le Tellier, which transferred Madame de Bouillon to the Bastille, and she was forthwith taken from her house, and lodged in prison.

It reached, meantime, the ears of the Queen and Mazarin, that the two Princesses de Condé were exciting, in an underhand manner, the ire of Parliament at the violation of the *article de la sûreté*

publique; and were intriguing to bring about an agitation for the release of the captives of Vincennes. Madame la Princesse, after a few days of isolation in the convent of the Great Carmelites of Paris, had retired to Chantilly, wisely resisting the entreaties of M. Lenet * and other friends that she would sanction an attempted rising against the King, to restore her sons to liberty. The *coterie* assembled at Chantilly consisted of Madame la Princesse, the young and neglected wife of Condé and her son, M. d'Enghien; also, Angelique Elizabeth de Montmorency, the widowed Duchesse de Châtillon, and various other ladies in attendance on the princesses. These ladies were supposed by the Queen to be employing their leisure in prayer, lamentation, and sad reminiscences. Anne yet trusted in a measure to the devotion of Madame la Princesse, while she despised the young Princess of Condé.† Lenet, nevertheless, discovering that under a placid and timid exterior, great loyalty existed in the latter for the husband, who, throughout their union, had treated her with coldness and contempt, contrived to inspire the young Clémence with the heroic idea of leading the movement that was to restore the prince to freedom, and of thus gaining his regard, and showing herself worthy of royal rank. Madame de Condé listened with joyful hope: "I will follow you anywhere," said she with enthusiasm. "I will go with you to lead an

* Pierre Lenet, Procureur-Général de Dijon, et Conseiller d'État, Seigneur de Meix. The memoirs of Lenet, the devoted partisan of the Prince de Condé, are important for the history of this period.

† Claire Clémence de Maillé Brezé, niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

army; for I shall never forget the obligations imposed upon me by the honour of having espoused a prince of the blood, of such genius and glory as M. mon mari!" Lenet, therefore, assumed the direction of all negotiations; being ably assisted by the Princess Palatine, Anne de Gonzague. He shrewdly surmised that the *entente* between Mazarin and the Coadjutor could not last—that it was a *rapprochement* only, at a period of extreme peril for both; and that as Gondy's ambitious aspirations—a cardinal's hat, and the post of prime minister—remained distant as ever, that the first misunderstanding between the two would be followed by still more bitter disunion. The watchful eyes of Le Tellier, however, read the secret of the intrigue yet scarcely afloat; and he reported his suspicion. Anne of Austria hesitated not. The troops stationed at Senlis, and St. Maxence, were ordered to advance upon Chantilly; while an officer of the body-guard, one M. de Vouldy, was despatched with a *lettre de cachet* to conduct the young princess and her son as prisoners of state to Châteauroux in Berry—also the children of the Duc de Longueville. Madame la Princesse was ordered to retire to Bourges, pending her Majesty's pleasure. Lenet, in his Memoirs, gives in full the interesting detail of the panic and distress at Chantilly, and of the heroism which the young princess displayed. The captivity of the princess and her son, would inflict a blow on the cause of Condé which all his partisans were desirous to avert. The friend and reader of Madame de Condé was Mademoiselle Gerbier, the daughter of Balthazer Gerbier, the art connoisseur,

and once house steward to the Duke of Buckingham. The daughter inherited the talent for intrigue possessed by her father, who in his day had greatly aided the Queen, and Madame de Chevreuse in their early caballings. Mademoiselle Gerbier, therefore, agreed to personate the young princess, while M. d'Enghien was to be represented by the son of the gardener. While M. de Vouldy, who had never before seen his royal prisoners, was thus befooled, the true princess and her son stole away from Chantilly during the night, and took the road to Montrond, a fortress in Berry still faithful to the cause of Condé. All happened as Lenet had designed: M. de Vouldy performed his commission, and set guards over his supposed prisoners, who were on the morrow to leave Chantilly for Châteauroux. Madame la Princesse promised, on her part, to perform the share of the drama allotted to her, which was to escape to Paris, and there live in concealment until a favourable opportunity arrived to present a petition to the Parliament for the liberty of the princes. On the 16th of April, the day after the capitulation of Bellegarde, the Princess de Condé safely arrived at Montrond, under the guidance of the faithful Lenet, and there unfurled the banner of Bourbon. She also addressed a letter to Anne of Austria, praying for the liberty of her husband, assuring the Queen of the fidelity of their house, and praying to be excused for having stolen a march on her Majesty's commissioner, though she had obeyed in the main the order contained in the *lettre de cachet*, to leave Chantilly for the province of Berry. Anne took

the fact more good naturedly than the princess anticipated. Madame de Condé, for the present, was out of her power, and the Queen was politic as well as prompt. She therefore wrote a condescending missive, permitting the young princess to live at Montrond, so long as her royal Highness was guilty of no disloyalty to the King her sovereign; and notifying that the Count de St. Aignan had orders to respect her servants and dwelling, so long as this condition was not violated. Madame la Princesse, meantime, attended by the Marquis de St. Simon and the Duchesse de Châtillon, fled to Paris. On the 27th day of April the princess appeared in the Salle des Pas Perdus, petition in hand to the High Court, praying "that the Parliament would decree the liberty of the princes, especially of her sons; and ordain that in accordance with the royal Declaration of 24th of October, 1648, that they should be brought for trial before the tribunal of the High Court—as it was an infamy and an injustice, that princes of the blood should be imprisoned without any crime being alleged against them, to assuage the resentment of a foreign minister of state, who had been proclaimed a public enemy and banished the realm by decree of the said High Court!" Madame la Princesse, enveloped from head to foot in a long black veil, held forth her petition to each member as he passed into the Chamber; the beautiful Duchess de Châtillon supported her outstretched arm, which trembled with emotion: while M. de St. Simon addressed each individual member on her behalf. The first President, Mathieu Molé, as he passed, stayed to

speak sympathising words, and alluded bitterly to the position of loyal members, servants of the crown and its princes, who, by the shameful coalition of the court with les Frondeurs, had been again placed in a minority. Many members passed, and none took the petition of the princess. At length M. Deslandes-Payen, a supporter of the party called Mazarinists before the late coalition, took the paper from the weary hand of Madame la Princesse, and promised to present it to the Chamber. The princess then asked for protection, stating that she feared arrest; which was temporarily accorded by the High Court for one night, in a house within the precincts of the Palais de Justice. Monsieur was communicated with by Molé; and the duke went down the next morning to the Chamber in a fume, and made a speech, showing "that the King's mandate must be obeyed; and that the Chamber ought not to tolerate that Madame la Princesse should avail herself of the absence of their Majesties, to present a seditious petition; that the said lady had visited Paris in direct defiance of the royal commands; therefore he had no other observations to make to the Chamber or to the said lady, except to enforce the necessity of obeying the orders of the crown. Monsieur, hearing that Madame la Princesse was without in the hall, went to speak to her, and fretfully admonished her, not further to provoke the resentment of Queen Anne, "which was a thing to be dreaded." Molé, also amid abundant condolences, advised the princess to leave the capital for Bourges; but asking Monsieur whether he could not suggest

some alternative that might be consolatory to the afflicted princess? the duke, after much cogitation, agreed that she should retire six miles only, to the hamlet of Chilly, a grace which was to extend over three days subsequent to the Queen's return to Paris; for which interval Monsieur undertook to be answerable to her Majesty.*

By the 2nd of May the Queen was again at the Palais Royal, accompanied by Mazarin. Anne expressed much displeasure at the encouragement which she considered had been given to the Princesse de Condé; and soundly rated Monsieur for his presumption in granting her respite for three days. She, therefore, sent the Marshal de l'Hôpital to Chilly, with an order that Madame la Princesse should immediately withdraw to Vallery, an estate of the Condé family. Subsequently, on being informed of the serious illness and depression of spirits from which the unhappy princess suffered, Anne permitted her to reside at Châtillon, with her friend and relative, Angélique de Montmorency, Duchesse de Châtillon. To the chieftains of the Fronde, Anne showed her sense of their loyal duty, evinced in the matter of Madame de Condé. She distributed decorations and dignities; and resigned to M. de Vendôme the office, and great emoluments of Lord High Admiral, which she herself had enjoyed since the death of the Duc de Brezé. Several valuable benefices in Paris falling

* M. Lenet; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Mém. de M. Omer Talon, t. ii.; Gazette de France, anno 1650; Mém. de l'Abbé Arnaud, et de la Duchesse de Nemours.

vacant at this period, were given to the Coadjutor, who, outwardly loyal still, could not tolerate the ascendancy of Mazarin; and in his flights of fancy was concocting the drama of a third and still more marvellous coalition—that of *Les Frondeurs*, with Molé and the conservative portion of the High Court, artificers of the peace of Ruel, against the Queen, and Mazarin! Gondy now and then dropped carelessly a word or two of this design, in the presence of the Princess Palatine, treating the matter as a pleasant fable, and with consummate art laughed heartily at the quaintness of his own conceits. The Coadjutor knew always the weak point in the mental temperament of his friends: it was not hidden from him, therefore, that the Palatine, daughter of a reigning Duke of Mantua, and by marriage the daughter-in-law of Elizabeth Stuart, and the Elector Palatine ex-King of Bohemia, deemed that her high rank was forgotten at the court of the Regent; and that she had a better right to the dignity of *surintendante* of the Queen's household than Madame de Senécé. This fact might perhaps be more prominently manifested to the mind of Anne de Gonzague at this period, as the Queen, after her return to Paris, reviewed her household, and dismissed all suspected malcontents, or secret enemies of M. le Cardinal. In her scrutiny Anne overlooked the Marshal de Villeroy, preceptor to the King, who, for some still hidden cause, bore Mazarin great ill-will; and who, a few months hence, openly joined his opponents. The Queen's household was magnificently ordered; and on reading the endless list of her servants

and attendants, the poverty of the privy purse during the Regency cannot excite surprise. She had five bed-chamber women, twelve dressers, two inferior maids, and four laundry maids; five equerries, twenty-four pages, and twenty-four footmen; one secretary *des commandements*, forty-eight secretaries, eighteen *valets de chambre;* ushers in endless number; two apothecaries, five surgeons; five *maîtres d'hôtel*, eight cooks, four pastry-cooks; one keeper of the jewels; six train-bearers; one keeper of upholstery, seven upholsterers; one baker, twenty porters, five washerwomen, two millers; one master of the silver plate, four butlers; ten dressmakers and milliners, one tailor; two physicians, nine chaplains; twelve *dames de palais*, twelve lords in waiting, and one mistress of the robes, or *grande-maîtresse*. All these personages, excepting the great ladies and lords, and the chaplains, lived in the Palais Royal, and the Louvre, besides an equally numerous train of inferior servants. The King's household, during his minority, excepting the great officers of state, was that of his mother.*

In Sténay, meanwhile, Madame de Longueville had scarcely enough to eat, and only two women to serve her. Every privation, however, was sweet, as it purchased revenge on Anne of Austria, and a treaty with the Catholic King. The desultory warfare in Flanders between the French and Spanish armies continued—a miserable remnant of the glorious campaigns of the Thirty years' war. The Spaniards were hostile, and in

* État de la France comme elle était gouvernée en l'an 1648-9; Archives Curieuses, t. 6.

position to besiege French border towns of Picardy; and that sufficed for Turenne, general of MM. les Princes. Volunteers were enrolled under the flag of Turenne, from the armies dissolved after the peace of Westphalia, and united to the soldiers of the regiments commanded by the imprisoned princes, now disbanded by order of the Queen. Madame de Longueville opened negotiations with Gondy's old friend and bugbear, the Conde de Fuensaldaña, who communicated her propositions to the Archduke, then besieging the town of Guise. By the treaty, Turenne was recognised as generalissimo of the Spanish armies in France. Sténay, Montrond, and all other places captured, were to receive a Spanish garrison; M. le Prince de Condé was to be liberated; and no peace concluded without the participation of Spain, in which pacification an article was especially to stipulate that all persons deprived of honours and dignities for promoting, or joining in the revolt were to be restored. In the south of France affairs looked still more gloomy. The tyranny of the Duc d'Epernon had kept alive a spirit of revolt against the royal power, which had proved a yoke too irksome and ever present, to subside in its animosities, by the concessions of the treaty of Ruel, which had disarmed the rebels of the capital. Epernon, a tyrant like his father, the celebrated favourite of Henry III., was a man of evil life and mystic pursuits, who was, moreover, suspected, in a fit of mad jealousy, of having poisoned his wife, Henriette Gabrielle, the legitimated daughter of Henri IV. He lived in the château de Navarre, once the favoured

abode of Jeanne d'Albret, with a woman of low origin, but magnificent beauty, whom he called his wife, and from thence he issued the oppressive orders which drove the once loyal Bordelais to open revolt. In vain they had sent deputies to pray her Majesty to depose so tyrannical a governor; but Mazarin, who desired to marry a niece to M. de Candale, eldest son of Epernon, turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance. The disaffection of the Bordelais, therefore, was highly favourable to the insurrectionary designs of the Ducs de Bouillon, de la Rochefoucauld, and de la Trimouille, the potent landholders of the south-eastern provinces, who, from their magnificent abodes of Turenne, Verteuil, and Taillebourg, launched forth manifestoes against the government. They hoped, likewise, to gain the alliance of the Duc de la Force, father-in-law to Turenne; and of the Duc de St. Simon, a kinsman of the Princess de Condé. These latter personages, however, when brought to the test, remained faithful to their allegiance. Ten thousand soldiers and retainers were soon in arms, under the banners of these potent chieftains; who, after sending envoys to crave the help of Philip IV., wrote to invite the Princess de Condé to leave her stronghold of Montrond, and to place herself, with her son, at the head of their armies. Under the guidance of Lenet, the Princess de Condé fled from Montrond, escaping with difficulty pursuit and capture by the Count de St. Aignan. On the 13th of May she was met by the van of Bouillon's army, and conducted by him with great state to his château de Turenne.

This disaffection was met in a calm spirit by Anne of Austria. The privy council instantly issued a declaration declaring the Ducs de Bouillon, la Rochefoucauld, and de la Trimouille, M. de Turenne, and Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchess de Longueville, attainted traitors, and deprived of lands and dignities. They were declared outlawed; their kinsmen and posterity plebeian, and their property was confiscated to the crown. This sweeping attainder immediately received the sanction of the High Court, without much previous debate; but amid which the plaints of Molé, and the querulous deprecation of Monsieur were audible. The Queen then determined to make a visit of four days to Compiègne, to watch the progress of the Archduke on the frontiers, and to relieve the town of Guise. Before leaving Paris Mazarin asked the Coadjutor the pertinent question—how his cousin, the Duke de Retz, would like alliance with his niece Olympia, dowered with the same sum as her sister, the betrothed of M. de Mercœur?

The Conde de Fuensaldaña, meantime, relieved the Archduke and invested Guise; with him was Turenne. Mazarin, leaving the Queen at Compiègne, met the Marshal du Plessis, the King's general at La Fère, and consigned to him large sums of money, and great stores of provision. The Cardinal's activity was unwearied; he visited the frontier fortresses and caused their fortifications to be strengthened. Guise, and its garrison, made so valiant a defence, aided by the activity of Mazarin, that the archduke withdrew his army and laid siege to La Capelle.

Anne, meanwhile, returned to Paris with the King, disturbed by the successes of the rebels in Bordeaux, and by the insolent defiance offered to her authority by the archduke; who, upon the retreat of his army from before Guise, sent a messenger to Monsieur to implore him to make peace by insisting on the release of Condé, and by appointing plenipotentiaries to meet the envoys of the Catholic King at Rhétal during the ensuing month of September. The Queen, justly incensed at these insults, resolved upon a campaign in the south—the stronghold, as she perceived, of the party of the Princes; as Bordeaux and its factious Parliament always supported the caballers in Paris, and held out to them the temptation of being able to provoke dangerous rebellion to the royal authority. Anne first offered the command to Monsieur; who, scared at the responsibility, positively declined to leave Paris. The Queen then announced her own resolve to besiege Bordeaux. Consternation unparalleled reigned throughout the factions. Normandy, and Burgundy, and Champagne had thus been subdued: if Guyenne likewise fell before the energy and determination of Anne of Austria, the malcontents, thoroughly subdued in the provinces, must perish in the capital. In vain Gondy implored the Queen, with specious argument, to leave the reduction of Bordeaux, and the chastisement of the rebel nobles, to the Parliament of Paris, already in active communication with that of Bordeaux. Anne was inexorable; go she determined she would, that the King, she said, might see and remember the disloyalty of every

subject, and of every town which dared to rise in rebellion against his authority! Monsieur was then worked upon; it was insinuated that Mazarin intended to release the princes of his own pure will, so that the fury of their resentment might fall on the duke. A few words from the Queen appeased Monsieur, who then declared that her Majesty was acting with becoming spirit; and that he would faithfully watch over her interests while absent. The Chancellor Châteauneuf was left as the duke's colleague during the absence of the court; Le Tellier also remained, who was now regarded as Mazarin's *affidé*, such as Chavigny was, in the late reign, to Richelieu.

On the 4th of July, 1650, with brave heart Anne set out in company with the King, and his young brother M. d'Anjou, Mazarin, Mademoiselle d'Orléans, and one lady of honour, the pious, and estimable Madame de Brienne. She halted for a few days at Fontainebleau, and was there again beset by the solicitations of the Parliament of Paris to return to Paris; but the Queen replied, "that as she had advanced thus far, she thought it better to persist in her journey. On the spot she would be better able to judge of the accusations levelled at M. d'Epernon; besides experience had confirmed the fact, that where the King was present rebellion perished." The same day her Majesty went to Orleans; on the 22nd of July she was in Poitiers, on the 25th in Angoulême, and on the 1st of August she entered Libourne, received a fresh oath of allegiance from its governor, the Duc de St.

Simon, and notified her presence to the town of Bordeaux. Couriers flew also in every direction to summon the rebel lords to appear before their offended liege, and to account for their actions. Missives were delivered to the Princess de Condé, who had been enthusiastically received by the people of Bordeaux, and had solemnly consigned her son to the protection of its Parliament. The Queen steadily followed up her foes: panting still under the excitement of her sudden swoop down upon them, the lords at first temporised; and the city of Bordeaux sent deputies to welcome their Majesties, but to pronounce stern interdiction against Mazarin. The Queen laughed at their threats; and in reply to their assurances of loyalty, replied, shortly, "that she should believe the protestations of the city of Bordeaux, when results—actions, not words—became apparent. That they had received the Princess de Condé, and the Ducs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld, who were in arms against the King, and who had sent to Madrid the Marquis de Sauveboeuf and M. de Silléry to ask aid from the King of Spain. First, therefore, her Majesty required that the said personages should be sent from Bordeaux; the King would afterwards make his pacific entry. She, therefore, gave the citizens positive commands to reply on these different points." The deputies replied:—"That doubtless the Queen would be obeyed; but that, not having received orders to give her Majesty reply as she demanded, they besought permission to return to Bordeaux." Affairs during the few subsequent days became much more complicated

The Marshal de la Meilleraye, generalissimo of the royal army in Guyenne, summoned the garrison of Vaires—a place seized by the Duc de Bouillon—to surrender. M. de Richon, captain of the garrison, replied by a volley of cannon-balls, which the royal army returned. The place then capitulated, and the Marshal de la Meilleraye then caused M. de Richon to be hanged from the battlements of the castle, because he had opened fire on the King's troops. It so happened that M. de Canoles, a royal officer and a prisoner of war, was on parole in Bordeaux. The Duc de Bouillon no sooner heard of the execution of Richon, than he caused M. de Canoles to be seized by the law of barbarous reprisals, and hung on the spot. The anger of the Queen blazed forth fiercely; and she vowed no longer to spare rebels so virulent.

On the 27th of August, Anne approached nearer to the city, and established herself at Bourg, a little place on the river Dordogne. The royal army consisted of 8000 infantry and 3000 horse, all under the command of the Marshal de la Meilleraye. The city was shortly invested, and the Faubourg St. Surin bombarded. The King's troops also took possession of the Île St. George, which commanded an important part of the city, and in the defence of which the Bordelais lost 1200 men. The internal feuds of the city caused anarchy everywhere to prevail. The rebel dukes had gained a footing in the city contrary to the wishes of the principal inhabitants; who, generously receiving Madame de Condé in her distress, had stipulated that no traitors should be harboured in Bordeaux. Often

Madame de Condé ran in peril of her life from the fury of faction. Spanish emissaries lay hidden in the city, buoying up the inhabitants with fallacious hopes of succour from Spain, which never came by land, or by sea. The most barbarous reprisals became the order of the day: fine castles and mansions were destroyed; and the Queen, in a hot impulse of temper, ordered the destruction of the magnificent residence of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld at Verteuil, on hearing that the Duc de Bouillon had fired the country palace of the Archbishop of Bordeaux. When la Rochefoucauld heard of the cruel destruction of the home of his ancestors, with all its invaluable riches, he sighed deeply, and then exclaimed, "Another sacrifice, at least, to offer to the adorable Madame de Longueville."* This destruction of Verteuil was certainly the worst political reprisal sanctioned by Anne of Austria. The ruin, happily, was only partially accomplished; the splendid furniture, and books, and pictures, were burned, and a great portion of the building blown up. Its towers, however, remained intact, and many other portions of the structure. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld eventually rebuilt the castle, and succeeded in restoring it almost to its pristine grandeur. M. de Bouillon omitted nothing worthy of the genius of a great captain to defend Bordeaux. M. de la Rochefocauld also signalised his courage; but it was all to no purpose: the fickle people, seeing no appearance of succour from Spain, compelled their

* Montglât; La Rochefoucauld; Motteville, Vie de Condé; Archives Curieuses.

generals to capitulate, or rather to sign a kind of peace. Throughout Guyenne the royal authority was nearly re-established: the Duc d'Epernon, being a skilful captain, emerged from his retreat and did good service; so that, to the intense joy of the Queen, the campaign seemed likely to conclude by the prompt submission of Bordeaux.

In Paris the deputies from the Parliament of the rebel city intrigued and petitioned; and being secretly supported by the Coadjutor and his party, did great mischief. The prompt reduction of Bordeaux greatly incensed La Fronde; and to suffer the triumphant return of the King without having had any influence in the progress of the negotiations, was too humiliating as a political downfall. It was, therefore, hastily resolved to despatch the president Bailleul, and two counsellors, from the Parliament, with M. le Coudray Montpensier on behalf of Monsieur, to pray "that her Majesty would be pleased to refrain from forcing Bordeaux to make unconditional capitulation; but would graciously accept of the intercession of the Parliament of Paris, and pardon that rebel city and its allies." These deputies arrived on the 8th of September, to the intense indignation of the Queen and her minister; who both declared that the ambassage was,—"*un tour du Coadjuteur, et de M. de Beaufort,*" to discredit Mazarin, and to deprive the King of the glory of taking the city. The Queen, however, consoled herself by the thought that before the arrival of the deputies the authorities of the city had craved the royal mercy, and that she had already dictated the articles

of capitulation. The King demanded the immediate departure from Bordeaux of the Princess de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien, who might retire to the château de Milly; the Duc de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld were required to depart to their respective castles, on condition that they undertook never more to bear arms against the King. These preliminaries executed, their Majesties would make their public entry into Bordeaux; and in due time proclaim a general amnesty. Much clamorous deprecation ensued; and Anne was petitioned to modify her conditions, and previously to her entry into Bordeaux, to grant amnesty. This concession, however, Anne declined to make, to the intense gratification of the Parisian deputies, who thereupon commenced a series of arduous negotiations. Elated with his military successes, the Cardinal could scarcely refrain from treating the parliamentary envoys as the Marshal de la Meilleraye had done M. de Richon. During these *tracasseries* the health of the Queen drooped—the hot and stuffy quarters at the little town of Bourg, and the adverse influences of its stagnant ponds and atmosphere, brought on a kind of bilious fever. The rapidity of her journey from Paris, and the subsequent fierce excitement, mental and bodily, had likewise been detrimental to the Queen's health. Mademoiselle and Madame de Brienne were her sole companions; the former Anne distrusted, and suspected of a gossiping, and not always veracious, correspondence with her father. "The weather was horribly hot," writes Mademoiselle, "and the Queen spent the greater part of the day in

deshabille on her bed, attiring herself only for the evening court. I passed the whole day in her room. The situation of Bourg is not pleasant. I used to amuse myself by watching the passage of boats on the river, when I was in my own apartment; when with the Queen, I worked with her at tapestry-work. Although the weather was fine the Queen would not walk, which gave me much vexation." By her own testimony Mademoiselle seems to have made herself intensely disagreeable—watching the Queen, teasing, and playing the uncivil to the Cardinal, jeering at the puny details of the siege warfare in progress, and writing to her father trenchant sarcasms on the military exploits of Mazarin; which she seemed to limit to the feat of having ascended the high tower of the church of St. Surin, while watching the combat in the faubourg of that name. Mademoiselle thought herself deeply aggrieved in being taken from Paris on so long, and uncomfortable a progress; and she avenged herself for her discomfort by setting up as a political personage, the representative of her royal father; and in this character, carrying on a kind of by-play with the Bordelais deputies, sympathising in their defeat, and assuring them majestically of the favour of Monsieur, and of his disgust at M. le Cardinal.

A truce of ten days was meantime concluded, preparatory to the signature of peace. All resources had failed the Bordelais in their revolt—the Duc de la Force had declined to join them; the King of Spain forgot his promises; and Turenne, who had boastfully

promised to liberate Condé, and, with him, to raise the siege, had been driven back from the Flemish frontier. The peace, therefore, was signed September 29, 1650. As a further grace, understood, but not stipulated, the Queen promised to require the resignation of the Duc d'Epernon, as governor of the province of Guyenne.

CHAPTER V.

1650—1651.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA A PRISONER IN THE PALAIS ROYAL.

On the third day of October, the Princess de Condé, and the Ducs de Bouillon, and de la Rochefoucauld, quitted Bordeaux, preparatory to the entry of the King, and Queen Regent into that city. Madame de Condé left the city in a galley, called La Princesse, which had been equipped for her use by the gallant Bordelais: thousands followed her to the port to witness her embarkation, saluting her with cheers of "*Vive le Roi, et Messieurs les Princes!*" Clémence had intended to disembark at Lormont, and from thence travel to Coutras, *en route* for her own château de Milly, in which the Queen had given her leave to make brief sojourn. On the river the Princess accidentally met the Marshal de la Meilleraye: she was sitting in sadness, and meditation on the deck of her beautiful galley, under an awning embroidered with her device, and motto. The thought then suddenly inspired her, that if she could see the Queen, to intercede for M. le Prince, it might be consolatory, and something gained to the cause.

Clémence therefore besought her old friend La Meilleraye to return to Bourg, and humbly solicit in her name audience of her Majesty. The Marshal consented, and went back to see the Queen. Anne at first peremptorily declined, saying, that she had nothing to say to Madame la Princesse; that she had no apartment or entertainment to offer her; and that M. de Mazarin was absent, having gone to confer with M. de Bouillon, which she thought might serve the purposes of all the late rebels. De la Meilleraye, good naturedly still insisting, Anne at length consented. Madame de la Meilleraye, with Madame de Brienne, therefore, received the princess on landing, and conducted her to the Queen's lodging. The coming of the princess created great sensation. Mademoiselle, who jealously watched the interests of her father, and was angry that audience had been granted to the princess, showed much ill humour, refusing to give her opinion when requested to do so by Mazarin, as to whether Madame de Condé should be received in private, or in the presence of all the courtly personages at Bourg. She also warned Mazarin, that if he thought to do any stroke of policy relating to the liberation of MM. les Princes, without the participation of Monsieur, the deed would bring strange confusion; as her father was not inclined to be made a dupe of by any minister whatsoever! Mazarin smiled, and blandly assured Mademoiselle that the coming of Madame la Princesse was quite unexpected; and that he had been summoned from a conference with M. de Bouillon, to

attend her Majesty. "Yes; so I understand—such conferences would suit you both; as neither you, nor M. le Duc de Bouillon, intend to adhere to any one of your engagements!" snappishly retorted Mademoiselle. The conversation was interrupted by the arrival of Madame la Princesse, whose reception the Queen had decided should be in private. Accordingly the personages present were their Majesties, Mademoiselle, and the Cardinal. Clémence looked pale and agitated: disappointment and anxiety had brought on indisposition, for which the doctors had prescribed the usual remedy of bleeding. Her arm, therefore, was bound up in a scarf; her dress, never very artistic, was less *soigné* than usual. She looked so harassed and careworn, as she advanced rapidly with her slight limping gait towards the Queen, that Anne involuntarily held forth her hand. "Madame la Princesse looked so forlorn, and was attired in such ridiculous fashion, that I and the Queen could scarcely repress our laughter!" writes Mademoiselle. Clémence however, in her loneliness was moved by even the semblance of kindness, and forgiveness. Taking the Queen's hand between her own, she covered it with tears, and sinking on her knees begged forgiveness for any personal offence which she had given to her Majesty: "but for M. le Prince, Madame, my son and I entreat and kneel at your feet, praying you to restore him to freedom. Oh, Madame! grant our petition in consideration of his eminent services, the glory which he has shed on your crown, and the blood which he has joyfully given for the service of the

King, and of this realm!" The very name of Condé sufficed to restore the Queen to a bitter sense of his demerits. She therefore replied, with icy composure, "*Ma cousine*, glad am I that you acknowledge the grave error of your own ways. You perceive that your method of attaining your wishes has not answered. However, as you, I trust, intend to adopt for the future a very different demeanour, I will see when I can, and how I can give you that satisfaction which you ask!" These chilling tones silenced the Princess, and she rose and took her leave, after presenting her son to her Majesty; and withdrawing, without deigning to glance at Mazarin, took up her abode for a few hours with Madame de la Meilleraye. The Cardinal, nevertheless, paid her a visit, despite the impolitic disregard with which Clémence had treated him in the presence of the Queen. The Cardinal's morning interview with the Dukes had been particularly satisfactory to him; so much so that the same afternoon he presented them both to the Queen, who received them "*fort civilement!*" * M. Lenet also had his share in these visits of intended oblivion, and was especially a recipient of Mazarin's *petits soins*; for the Cardinal highly appreciated fidelity combined with ability. "Tell me, dear M. Lenet," exclaimed Mazarin, drawing the steady and faithful counsellor of Madame la Princesse to a window, from which they beheld the spires of the proud city of Bordeaux rising in the distance—"tell me, what has M. le Prince done for that town, to com-

* Mém. de Lenet; de la Rochefoucauld; Vie de Condé—Desormeaux.

pel its people to rise in his defence?" "Monseigneur," said Lenet, "the men of Gascony are generous; your Eminence, they believe, takes the part of their oppressor, M. d'Epernon. Last year M. le Prince was their friend; and you wished to ruin them; they hate you, and love him. He suffers, and you reign. The example set by Paris during the recent troubles has ignited a spark in every town throughout the realm." Mazarin then offered to enter into a grand *exposé* of all the ills and insolences perpetrated by M. le Prince; but on referring to his watch he found that it was the hour a mass was celebrated in honour of the festival of St. Francis. He therefore offered to take Lenet to the Queen's lodgings, and introduce him to her Majesty, who was desirous of seeing him. MM. de la Rochefoucauld and de Bouillon both offered to attend the Cardinal afterwards to church; and accordingly his Eminence, and his three late antagonists entered a coach together. "Who would have thought eight days ago that to-day we should have been all four together?" said Mazarin, pleasantly. "All things happen in France!" remarked la Rochefoucauld, sententiously. "As I always hoped and expected to regain the good friendship of your Eminence, nothing surprises, or will surprise me!" said Bouillon. "It is doubtless a great honour to ride in your coach," said Lenet, bluntly; "but I shall never be happy until I see M. le Prince in it also!" "Ah patience! All that will come round in due time!" and Mazarin laughed his light joyous laugh, gesticulating as usual with his hands. Anne, however, had been too much tried by the Cardinal's civilities to her van-

quished foes: she was ill and irritable, and sighed for repose. Lenet's visit, therefore, was ill-timed, and very hard to endure; especially as his address was a *mélange*, semi-respectful, semi-lecturing — a mood adopted by most of the opponents of the government in their interviews of reconciliation, as members of a defeated faction. The patience of Anne of Austria at length gave way, as Lenet babbled on respecting the princes, the purity of their intentions, their loyalty, and the necessity of liberating them. An angry flash mounted to her brow, and she suddenly exclaimed, "Ah! if one were not a Christian, what should not be the portion of that rebel city!—what the fate of men who call themselves King's officers, but who fought at Bellegarde, and who are now going to make common cause with Turenne, and Madame de Longueville in Sténay!" The Queen then sank back in her chair, scarcely listening to Lenet's apology and semi-objurgation; in which he insolently warned her not to lay down such sweeping maxims, as one day under her son's reign she also might need trusty partisans, as did the late Queen, Marie de Medici!*

From Mademoiselle, Anne had also to endure much: this flippant young lady, angry at the failure of her marriage with the Emperor, and at the little inclination evinced by the Queen to affiance her to King Louis, she being eleven years his Majesty's senior, took advantage of Anne's depressed and ailing condition, to conduct herself with great presumption. The Queen sighed for the enjoyment of the spacious apartments,

* Mém. de M. de Lenet, t. i.

cool forest glades, and *cuisine* of Fontainebleau; and once meditated to depart thither straight from Bourg, without paying a visit to the city of Bordeaux, which would have been an infraction of the recently signed treaty of peace. Mademoiselle made an outcry, that any stipulation signed by her father's envoy, M. de Coudray, should meet with evasion from their Majesties; and although the Queen had only expressed a wish, and not a resolution on the matter, she declared that Paris would resent such a slight to the Bordelais, and would show it by again voting the act which excluded all foreigners from holding office in France! "Oh!" said the Queen, "*quitte alors pour n'aller jamais à Paris!*" "But," rejoined Mademoiselle, "your Majesty would have to wander from one little town and village to another. All the great cities of France will follow the example of Paris!" "We must then try to submit with the best grace we can to such a misfortune," replied Anne, indifferently.*

On the 5th of October the Queen made her entry into Bordeaux, accompanied by all the loyal members and presidents of the Parliament who had refused to join in the late broils. Before Mazarin departed from Bourg he gave final audience of farewell to the Dukes de la Rochefoucauld and Bouillon, who then each departed—Bouillon, to his splendid castle of Turenne, to mourn for his consort, who remained a prisoner in the Bastille—la Rochefoucauld, to survey the ruins of his noble ancestral palace of Verteuil. In this parting

* Mém. de Mademoiselle, whose own recital of these events testifies to the disdainful airs which she, at this period, indulged in.

interview the Cardinal had been beset by the most tempting proposals, dependent on the immediate liberation of Condé, and his fellow-prisoners. Bouillon hinted that the Prince de Conty was smitten with the charms of Marie Martinozzi, and that such an alliance would be honourable beyond precedent to Mazarin: while as for la Signora Olympia—whose sharp, shrewd tongue already entertained the court—she might make a suitable consort for his own son and heir. The Cardinal sighed, promised to do some things shortly which would astonish the friends of M. le Prince; but deplored that confidence in the friendship of Condé would not take root in his mind.* These overtures, nevertheless, were pondered by Mazarin; the attainment of his wildest schemes of ambition seemed then likely to be realised, by the possible offer of the hand of a prince of the blood for his niece. It was thought that this expectation, however remote in prospect, conduced to win the assent of the minister to the deposition of Epernon from his command over the province; whose defence Mazarin had espoused out of regard for the probable alliance between Mademoiselle Martinozzi, and the Duc de Candale.* The Queen did not make long sojourn in Bordeaux. Affairs in Paris daily became more unsatisfactory and irritating; and with characteristic courage Anne longed to be on the spot to combat them, and to concentrate all the power of the crown to repress the intrigues of M. le Coadjuteur.

Great and important events and changes, had oc-

* Mém. de Montglàt; de la Rochefoucauld; de Guy Joly; Lenet.

curred during the Queen's pilgrimage to the South. The majority of the members of the High Court, headed by Molé, which had formerly embraced the defence of the royal power against the Frondeur league, showed furious violence in debate respecting the imprisonment of Condé. Talon, Anne's once faithful attorney-general, led the attack on Mazarin, whom he accused of tyranny and of inciting the Queen to violate the fundamental laws of the realm. Cries of "*Vive le Prince! et point de Mazarin!*" again echoed throughout Paris. The Coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort, personages once so popular, were saluted with hisses from the populace; and were reproached by their colleagues with having shamefully abandoned the Declaration of the 24th of October. The Bordeaux deputies were welcomed with enthusiasm. Monsieur, beside himself with perplexity, acted by the counsel of the Coadjutor, who seems to have devoted himself to further royal interests at this season. The Queen, however, was sceptical. Hating Gondy, she disbelieved his statements, and openly accused him of practising the same disingenuity as during "*la Journée des Barricades.*" The discontent of Mathieu Molé, and his friends of the High Court, brought affairs to a crisis. Men began to reflect when a body of magistrates, many of high rank and all of unblemished honour, condemned the arrest of Condé, and bitterly reproached the government for its faithless policy. The panic, and public dismay, reached a climax when news arrived that Turenne, and the Archduke, had crossed the frontier; and after the capture of the towns

of La Capelle, Verviers, and the fortress of Marle by Leopold, and by that of Rhétal and Château-Porcien by Turenne, the latter was advancing to besiege Vincennes. Turenne, the skilful strategist, had completely out-manœuvred the Marshal de Plessis-Praslin; while the Marshal d'Hocquincourt had been surprised and routed in the neighbourhood of Fîmes by the Archduke. Anne of Austria was then at Bourg, having just concluded her negotiations with the Bordelais. Orders were forthwith despatched by the Queen to Monsieur to cause the removal of the prisoners to the fortress of Hâvre. The confusion in Paris had never been surpassed: all business seemed suspended, and the calling of every man for the moment appeared to be that of a politician. In the Chamber, Talon moved that a petition should be presented to the Queen, praying her to restore the princes to liberty; and to give peace to the realm, menaced by terrible dangers, by the concession of all reasonable demands.* This proposition was carried by a majority of seventy-five votes; but as Monsieur was the sworn Lieutenant of the crown during her Majesty's absence, the address was presented to him, as the case was imminent, and an answer urgent. The Duke, in reply, evading the difficult question of the liberty of the princes, said that the Queen was mistress of the realm; that the majority of the King was fast approaching; that the civil feuds of the kingdom were likely to result in its perdition; but that the necessary thing to be now done was to obey her Majesty, and

* Mém. de M. Omer Talon, Avocat-general, t. ii.; Pettitot, vol. lxii.

remove the princes from the castle of Vincennes. To accomplish this object, Monsieur invited the leading personages of the government, and of the Chamber to a conference at the Luxembourg. Accordingly, an assembly met, which for violence and clamour rivalled the celebrated *séances* of the Chamber for the prosecution of the alleged assassins of Condé. Le Tellier, "*l'affidé de ce fourbe Mazarin*," the Coadjutor, the Duc de Beaufort, the Chancellor Châteauneuf, and the Marquis de Laigues, who represented the Duchesse de Chevreuse; Molé, Lyonne, and Servien, the President de Bellièvre, and Viole were all present. Meantime, Madame, who at this period began to figure in a small way as a political personage, had been privately exhorting Monsieur to liberate the princes while he had it still in his power, and to make terms with Condé; the seal of which should be the betrothal of their eldest daughter to the little Duc d'Enghien, and the marriage of Condé himself to Mademoiselle, after his alliance with "*la petite de Brézé*" should have been declared null, without prejudice to the issue of such marriage. The temptation was great. The hungry eyes of Monsieur devoured already the power and credit, temporary though it might be, which would reward such a course: he longed, but dared not grasp, nor yet reject, the seductive proposal. Le Tellier, meantime, demanded in the name of the Queen that the princes should be transferred to the fortress of Hâvre. Gondy, reminding Le Tellier that a part of the treaty concluded before the arrest of Condé, explicitly specified that the sign manual of the Regent

must be authenticated by that of Monsieur to render legal any removal of the princes from Vincennes—proposed that they should be transferred to the Bastille. "It is your interest, Monseigneur," said the Coadjutor, "not to permit the said princes to be transferred to a place of which M. le Cardinal is master; for in that case he may release them at pleasure, and make treaty with them to our perdition. In the Bastille the princes would be safe from the enterprise of M. de Turenne, and at our disposition." "The princes in the Bastille would not be in the power of the Queen, or in that of Monsieur," said Le Tellier; "they would become the prisoners of M. Broussel, and of the people of Paris. I withhold my assent. Her Majesty will feel mortal offence, and will not fail to exert all the power of the crown to take the said princes hence." M. de Laigues observed that time was precious, and that in a few days Turenne might be before Vincennes, when it would be too late to debate; and he therefore begged Monsieur to reflect upon his own position, and the position of the gentlemen present, if M. de Condé obtained his liberation after such fashion:—"M. le Prince loves and honours the King; and the Queen you have offended." Monsieur sullenly admitted the urgency of the case, but added that he could not approve of Hâvre; while M. le Tellier, and M. de Châteauneuf declined the Bastille, on behalf of her Majesty. "If we could have leisure to despatch an envoy to obtain the Queen's final commands ——" hesitated Monsieur. Such delay being unanimously pronounced impracticable, M. de Laigues proposed that a middle course

should be adopted, and the princes conducted to the strong castle of Marcoussy, the seat of M. d'Entragues. The proposal was not badly received, but the assembly broke up before any decision was come to, and adjourned until the following day. In this interval Madame de Chevreuse negotiated so effectually that Monsieur consented to the transfer of the princes to Marcoussy, a castle about eighteen miles from Paris; she likewise obtained the assent of Gondy, and of the Duc de Beaufort. Le Tellier proved more obdurate, and insisted that the safest policy was to obey the Queen; but alarmed at an attempt to escape on the part of the illustrious prisoners, reported by their gaoler Le Bar, he ultimately gave his sanction. On the 28th of August, therefore, at dusk hour, Condé and his fellow-captives, MM. de Conty and de Longueville, escorted by a regiment of horse, were conveyed from Vincennes, and conducted to Marcoussy, a magnificently furnished mansion built on an island in the centre of a deep lake; and the scene where Henri Quatre courted the favour of the beautiful Henriette d'Entragues, Marquise de Verneuil.

A few days subsequent to this important event another envoy from the Archduke Leopold arrived in Paris, accredited to Monsieur, and charged to make the following proposal:—That Monsieur and the Archduke should have a personal interview, and between them agree as to the articles of a general pacification; the place of interview to be the plain between the towns of Rheims and Rhétal, on the 18th day of the forthcoming month of September. The envoy, who pro-

claimed that his errand was to propose a pacification, met with rapturous plaudits in public.* The people thronged around his coach and cheered heartily, crying, *"Vive le Prince! à bas Mazarin! Vive l'Archiduc!"* Nothing more subtle in its effect could have been devised by the most bitter enemies of France, or more likely to renew the civil war, by setting the chiefs of all the factions by the ears. By a prudent prince, and one of sagacity and conduct, the design would have been foiled; but Monsieur, with his petty pride, and inconceivable love of meddling, could not resist the flattery conveyed to himself by the insulting omission of the name of the Regent from the Archduke's message. Instead, therefore, of referring the matter to her Majesty, who was then in Bordeaux, Monsieur took upon himself to reply. He gave audience to the envoy, and on the following day transmitted his answer through M. d'Avaux, one of the under-secretaries of state. His reply was to the purport, that he gladly accepted the offer of his imperial highness for a personal interview. He desired, however, a longer interval before the said interview; that representing the person of the King in Paris, he could not repair to the place proposed by the Archduke; but suggested that the palace of Compiègne would be a rendezvous more suitable to their exalted rank. In order the better to take every surety likely to conduce to the much desired peace, his royal highness proposed to despatch the papal nuncio, and the ambassador of

* Mém. de Montglat; Petitot, t. l.; Mém. de M. Omer Talon, t. i.; Brigues pour le Gouvernement; MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. F, No. 300.

Venice to peruse the powers intrusted to his imperial highness by the Catholic King, and to submit the authority given to himself by the Christian King. The envoys of Monsieur set out, and got as far as Montreuil, from whence they wrote to the Archduke, asking for safe conducts. Leopold, who had no credentials to exhibit, and who had only hazarded the proposition to embroil affairs, took no notice of the application; and the next intelligence received of his alleged pacific intent was the siege of Vervins.

The old spirit of disaffection, meanwhile, had revived in Paris; disunion followed among the chieftains; and distrust of Mazarin—a fear, in the first instance evoked by the *cancans* of Mademoiselle, who wrote to her father and to her friends in Paris the history of his long conferences, and profuse civilities to the Ducs de Bouillon, and de la Rochefoucauld, Lenet, and to Gourville—and a rabid, but unexplainable desire to liberate Condé, whom but a few months previously the populace reviled, and whose arrest they had celebrated by bonfires, and public rejoicings. A shot was fired one evening during the latter end of September at the coach of the Duc de Beaufort, which was attributed to Mazarin. The next morning seven effigies of the Cardinal were found gibbeted in different parts of the capital. Below one of them was a rough drawing in chalk, representing the attack on M. de Beaufort, having these words beneath—"*Les dernières Finesses de Mazarin.*" A few days subsequently the satirist improved on his original idea, and two pictures in oil, roughly painted, were affixed on the Pont Neuf, repre-

senting Mazarin *in pontificalibus*, with a rope round his neck. Below was the inscription—

"JULES MAZARIN,
For having on several occasions prevented the accomplishment of peace;
For having sold all vacant benefices;
For having, by enchantment and wizard-craft, deluded the mind of certain high personages of the court;
For having violated the customs of France, and the laws of the kingdom;
Is hereby condemned to be strangled!"

Crowds assembled cheering and laughing around the pictures; the mirth becoming uproarious, mingled with seditious cries, soldiers were sent to disperse the mob, when a riot ensued.

Queen Anne, meantime, alarmed at the doings in the unruly capital, and irritated beyond measure at Monsieur, left Bordeaux on the 15th of October. His presumption in sending deputies to intercede for the Bordelais, and to propose articles of accommodation, thus taking the victory from the hands of the King, had been brooding in the heart of Anne of Austria. She publicly designated the Coadjutor as an ambitious and turbulent subject, without scruples and veneration; while Mazarin asserted, that Gondy, in his heart, nursed a terrible hate towards the Prince de Condé, and by every mail made propositions to the Queen unworthy of a Christian prelate. When the late *tracasseries* were imparted to the Queen, and the conduct of Monsieur, in the matters of the removal of the prisoners to Marcoussy, and his reply to the Archduke's propositions—the hot blood

of Hapsburg was stirred in Anne's veins, and she exclaimed—"Ah, Monsieur has treated me like *une chambrière.* Without waiting for my consent, and authorisation, he has dared to negotiate with our enemies, and to transfer my prisoners to Marcoussy! We shall see! He will find that he shall not defy me in vain!" Impelled by anxiety and irritation, the Queen made a rapid journey on horseback from Bordeaux to Poitiers; but a cold which she had taken at a ball given to her in Bordeaux increased the bilious maladies from which she had been for many weeks suffering. She was, therefore, compelled by illness to halt at Poitiers for two days. An interview which the Queen had given at Saintes to an old devotee, whose prophecies were holden in great esteem in the locality, had, it was supposed, increased her melancholy, by adverse predictions relative to Mazarin.* Anne, taking heart, soon resumed her journey, and arrived at Amboise, where she was again compelled to take to her bed by violent pains in her limbs, and head. During the journey, Madame de Brienne informs us, that such was the courageous heart of the Queen, although grievously sick in body, that she used to travel in her coach from morning to night without complaint, patiently enduring the roughness of the roads, and the innocent merriment of the young King. One day, the baggage-waggons being overturned on the road, did not arrive at the place fixed for the court to spend the night, until three hours after the Queen. During this time Anne sat shivering and faint on a hard, straight-

* Mém. de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, t. i.

backed wooden chair, not a murmur of impatience, or of anger at the unforseen delay passing her pallid lips. Madame de Brienne condoling with her royal mistress, Anne replied: "Do not mind, *m'amie*—people like ourselves are too much at our ease; and it is right and salutary that sometimes we should be taught what suffering is." At Amboise the Queen spent twelve days in bed, so ill and depressed that Mademoiselle thought it expedient and politic to set spies over Mazarin, and to despatch an express to inform her father of her Majesty's severe sickness. Salubrious air and better diet, however, partially restored the Queen; and she rose, and continued her journey to that long-coveted bourne, Fontainebleau, where she arrived with the King on the 7th day of November. M. le Tellier, meantime, met their Majesties at Pethiviers, and by his minute relations of events in Paris, still further angered the Queen's heart against Monsieur. It was the Duke's privilege and duty to give rendezvous to the sovereigns at Fontainebleau, in order to resign the special functions intrusted to him; but Monsieur's heart failed him, and he insisted that le Tellier should first test Anne's humour. He intrusted that personage with a private message to the Queen, to wit: * "that towards herself he was always well affected and loyal, and that between them there ought to be no distrust or reserve. With respect, however, to the Cardinal Mazarin, the latter had shown himself to be a man of

* Mém. de Montglât. Guy Joly. "M. le Tellier informait le Cardinal exactement de tout, et lui mandait que l'esprit de Monsieur n'était plus si aisé a conduire que du temps de la Rivière; et qu'on voyait bien, que c'était un autre homme qui le gouvernait."—Montglât, an 1650.

mean parts, stupid, and obtuse—one, in short, who conceived that nothing could be well done except by his own hand. He, therefore, was of opinion that a new council of Regency would be an act of great expediency and policy, and therefore, he would willingly aid her Majesty, if so inclined." Le Tellier, also, informed his royal mistress that several doubts, and apprehensions existed in the mind of Monsieur, which, in his opinion, rendered his royal highness unwilling to leave Paris. Monsieur, he said, greatly dreaded to find himself *tête-à-tête* with her Majesty in bad humour; he feared that due honour might not be awarded him, especially in the customary favour of being met *en route* by the King in person. Anne, who was anxious beyond measure to get Monsieur within the range of her influence, and who had already determined on the fate of her royal captives of Marcoussy, assured le Tellier that Monsieur's apprehensions were unfounded, and that he should have the reception due to the loyal uncle of the King, and her own personal favour. The clever under-secretary, therefore, was despatched back again to Paris to tranquillise the mind of Monsieur, and to bring him to Fontainebleau.

Amongst other documents brought by le Tellier was a letter from Madame de Chevreuse to the Queen, claiming, rather than requesting, a Cardinal's hat for the Coadjutor de Gondy. At this period, Gondy protests, that if he had been Mazarin's nephew he could not have served him with more faithful energy! Aware of the suspicions, and vituperation of the Cardinal, and

of the dislike manifested by the Queen, Gondy (and, it appears, not unreasonably) desired some material benefit as a pledge of amity, and as an indication that his services were recognised and prized by the crown. Already he had seriously perilled his popularity; while he was dubious as to what might be his fate, should the reported underhand dealings between Mazarin and the imprisoned princes result in their sudden liberation by a subtle, but supreme act of royal grace. The duchess also wrote to Mazarin, informing him of the wounded feelings of M. le Coadjuteur at the manner in which his Eminence had been pleased to allude to him. She added that Gondy was all-powerful in Paris, and still his friend; but that as M. le Coadjuteur was a personage altogether distinct from the common herd, his reward also should be brilliant. She, therefore, prayed him to grant to the said Coadjutor that nomination of the crown to the cardinalate which M. de Conty, and M. de la Rivière had forfeited. Mazarin replied: "that the Queen would advise and consult the Chancellor and Monsieur; but that he himself greatly desired that her Majesty might find the request of M. le Coadjuteur possible."

On the 14th, the Duc d'Orléans arrived at Fontainebleau. He set out from Paris, escorted by four hundred horsemen, so great was his panic, and distrust. He was received with lavish honours: the King rode out to meet his uncle a distance of three miles from the palace; while Mazarin went six miles on the road, without pomp, attended only by a bishop, and sat in his coach, meekly reading his breviary. Ashamed, there-

fore, of his doubts, Monsieur, on seeing the King, dismissed his escort, and with many inward shudderings placed himself, with the young Louis, in the Cardinal's coach, and was thus driven to the palace. At the top of the great staircase, Monsieur was affectionately greeted by Anne of Austria. At night, she invited the duke to private conference. Nerving himself to resist every solicitation contrary to the political creed he had recently professed, Monsieur recalled all the promises, and protestations, which he had made to his Paris friends, before trusting himself to the Circæan web likely to be spread for him at Fontainebleau. Monsieur therefore eagerly commenced an explanation of his past conduct. Anne plaintively reproached him with lukewarm service. "I know not wherefore, but our happy union seems to be interrupted; consider, Monsieur, that upon our continued friendship depends the welfare of the realm." "Madame, I beseech you to put from your mind that coldness exists between you and myself. I serve, and respect, and love your Majesty, as I always have done." Anne then opened forth her wishes and policy respecting the princes: she said, "that the welfare of the realm was to her more than promises made under pressure of other difficulties; and that, upon high public expediency, she entreated Monsieur to join her in decreeing the instant removal of the princes from Marcoussy, to the fortress of Hâvre." Monsieur hesitated, shuffled, and begged her Majesty to remember she had promised that the fate of the princes should be decided by their united assent and signature, so that she could not act independently; that he had no juris-

diction over Hâvre. Anne said, "that M. Bar having already received orders to open the prison of the princes on the presentation only of a warrant bearing their joint signatures, would equally perform his duty at Hâvre, as at Marcoussy." Monsieur then objected that Hâvre was a fortress over which he had no control, being commanded by the Duc de Richelieu. Anne replied, "that M. de Richelieu and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon had consented to resign their command to M. Bar, during the residence at Hâvre of the princes." It was in vain Monsieur again objected, remonstrated, and argued—Anne was ever ready with her reply. Neither did he even venture to censure Mazarin. Exposed to the attractions of Anne's gracious manner, and firmness of will, Monsieur was like a piece of plastic clay in her hands. Taking from the table the warrant ordering the transfer of the princes from Marcoussy to Hâvre de Grâce, she presented it to Monsieur, and demanded his signature, in a manner half intimidating, half beseeching. Monsieur took the pen and signed. Without further parley, Anne, triumphant and serene, then dismissed him, aghast at what he had done. The duke retired, but not to repose; the magnitude of his concession, which concentrated all power in the hands of the Queen and Mazarin, and the ominous predictions of his friends in Paris, drove him frantic, as they one by one occurred to his memory: he passed the night, therefore, in despair and misgiving. At the first dawn of morning, Monsieur rushed from the palace to the hostelry of "Le Grand Ferrare," in the village, where his train lodged. One of his gentlemen he instantly

despatched for the secretary of state Le Tellier, who hurried out of his bed as soon as possible to the interview, and found Monsieur walking at a tearing pace before the inn. For two hours the unfortunate Le Tellier had to endure Monsieur's stormy reproaches: he declared that the Queen had fraudulently obtained his signature—that he protested against it, and wished the princes to be removed to the Bastille, and to no other prison. The duke then mounted a horse, and calling for pistols, dashed away at furious speed into the dark intricacies of the forest, leaving Le Tellier astounded, and perturbed.

Anne, when informed of Monsieur's eccentricities, took the matter very coolly, and laughed with Madame de Chevreuse, who had arrived that morning to watch over Monsieur, and to solicit for the Coadjutor. At midday, Monsieur returned, sobered and sad: he visited Mazarin; declared that he revoked the consent he had given, and asked for the paper which he had signed. His Eminence made no objection, and smilingly turned over the papers on his table, observing that the warrant must have been carried away by Le Tellier. A messenger was sent to summon that functionary, who returned with the intelligence that M. Le Tellier was out. The day waned—the duke's anguish increased—and when the secretary of state returned, it was too late to revoke the order which had been already despatched for the transfer of the princes from Marcoussy, to Hâvre.*

* Mém. de Montglât, an 1650; Mém. de Motteville; Mém. de la Duchesse de Némours; Brigues pour le Gouvernement; MS. Bibl. Imp.,

During the afternoon, a council was holden, to which the request of Madame de Chevreuse on behalf of the Coadjutor, was submitted. Monsieur attended, at the Queen's request, who, perceiving him lounging disconsolately by one of the fountains from her chamber window, sent a page, with a request that his royal highness would repair to speak with her; which, as Monsieur could not decline, ended by his appearance in the council-chamber, leading her Majesty by the hand. Monsieur warmly seconded the petition made for Gondy; Anne feigned assent, and declaring that she was willing to sacrifice her resentment for the public good, said she would be guided by the advice of the council. Châteauneuf, however, to the surprise of all, made most determined opposition to the elevation of Gondy, although the intrigues of the latter, and his old friend Madame de Chevreuse, had brought him back to power. The Coadjutor states* that Châteauneuf himself, coveting the red hat, opposed his election to the dignity. This supposition is little probable: Châteauneuf was an old man, with shattered health, and inclinations which did not tend to the purple. His traditions were also those of Richelieu's ministry; and when he found himself again in power, his indignation could scarcely be controlled at the enterprising, and audacious interference of Gondy, and his party. To the Queen, he described the Coadjutor as a monster of ingratitude, deceit, and mischief; and kneeling before her, he conjured her, in

Suppl. F, 20, 300; Mém. de Retz, t. ii.; Mém. d'Omer Talon, avocat-général, p. 115.

* Mém. de Retz; de Montglàt; Lettres de M. Guy Patin, an 1650.

the presence of Monsieur, not to countenance, by a lamentable weakness, the insolence of a subject who thus wished, sword in hand, to tear from the sovereign personal reward, and favour. Tears dimmed Anne's blue eyes, as she gave her hand to Châteauneuf, who had thus so unexpectedly expressed the promptings of her own spirit. She then observed, that she would weigh the counsels just given to her, and must therefore delay her decision; as it would be impossible, and indecorous for her to grant the petition preferred to her, in defiance of the weighty arguments of the chancellor.

Condé and the captive princes were meantime conducted from Marcoussy, on the 15th November, by the Count d'Harcourt, at the head of eight hundred horse, and six hundred foot soldiers. Their transfer had not been made a day too soon, as a scheme was afloat to rescue the Prince, which he afterwards declared could not have proved a failure.* The castle of Marcoussy, being a private residence, afforded peculiar facilities for an enterprise of the kind, the hero of which was to be Condé, who knew not even the sensation of fear. Their first stage, *en route* for Hâvre, was Versailles; from thence to Vernon-sur-Seine, Rouen, and Hâvre de Grâce. Anne having obtained the sanction of the lieutenant-general of the realm to this enterprise, suffered not its execution to tarry. The very night, whilst Monsieur was moaning weakly in his splendid bedchamber at Fontainebleau, couriers were flying to carry warrants

* Mém. de l'Abbé Arnaud d'Andilly, t. i.; Vie de Condé—Désormeaux; Vie de Condé, Archives Curieuses, t. viii.

to the Count d'Harcourt and M. Bar; so that the day but one following the captives were on their march to a stronghold, which the Queen and her Cardinal, vainly imagined to be impregnable; and able to control behind its iron bars not only Condé, but the disaffection, and daring defiance of the Paris demagogues.

Loud were the cries of indignation which thrilled through Paris when the Queen's bold measure became public. To coerce Monsieur—as his consort, Madame, never ceased to proclaim; to act with a vigour startling in its celerity, so that not one of the famous remonstrances of the High Court had time to echo in the royal ear; to confine Condé, the hero of France, and now the hero of faction, in a fortress on the coast, the key of which was held by Mazarin, was a combination startling indeed to the self-elected guardians of the realm! Molé shed pathetic tears; Gondy, enraged at the scene in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, described by the graphic pen of Madame de Chevreuse, waited only for the enunciation of her Majesty's final decision against his claims, to enter heart, and body into the designs of the Princess Palatine, the faithful friend, and admirer of Condé. A romantic interest had been raised in Paris by the woes of Condé: the apartments which he had inhabited at Vincennes were thrown open for public inspection, and throngs eagerly visited them. Mademoiselle de Scudéry shed tears over a little bed of pinks cultivated by Condé, and raised at the end of one of the open galleries of the fortress, where the prisoners were permitted to take daily exercise;

and she composed on the spot the following *impromptu* :—

"En voyant ces œillets qu'un illustre guerrier
Arrosa d'une main qui gagna des batailles,
Souviens toi qu'Apollon a bâti des murailles,
Et ne t'étonne pas que Mars soit jardinier !" *

"Whilst I am here watering flowers, who would have predicted that my wife was making war!" exclaimed Condé, bitterly. "M. de Longueville is very melancholy, and never utters a word; M. de Conty weeps, and seldom leaves his bed; M. le Prince sings, swears, hears mass, reads Italian or French books, dines, and plays at battledore and shuttlecock." †

For some short period Condé bitterly complained of the poverty of his table, and the coarse viands set before him, the cost of which was specially defrayed by the state. On being informed of these complaints, Anne caused the princes to be informed that for the future their table might be regulated by themselves, but at their own cost. "I will rather die," said Condé, "than abet Madame Anne in her designs against us. I will give no orders to my steward!" For some days, therefore, the princes literally subsisted on prison fare,—the food neither more nor less than that doled out to the meanest prisoner. Le Bar informed Anne of the circumstances; adding that M. le Prince continued to protest that he would rather die than feed himself in prison. The Queen

* Mém. de Motteville. † Ibid.; de Retz, t. ii.

replied by the characteristic words, *qu'il meure donc.** The other prisoners not being of so combative a character, the Duc de Longueville eventually undertook to provide the daily fare.

On the 17th of November, Anne arrived in Paris, and alighted at the Palais Royal, where she was received by all the members of her household. Madame de Motteville expresses herself as much shocked at the pale, languid, and melancholy aspect of her royal mistress, who still suffered greatly from low fever, and acute pain in the right side. The Cardinal accompanied the Queen. Anne, with her usual wilful determination, had resolutely set at nought the wise counsel he had offered upon two subjects—counsel, which perhaps might have borne more important fruit than any other advice that it ever fell to Mazarin's lot to give. Mazarin had advised and implored the Queen not to return to Paris until after the King's majority, but to establish herself at Blois. He represented that by her late act in removing the Princes from the custody of the members of the old Fronde, she had probably alienated their fidelity; that Monsieur was excitable and not to be trusted; and that Gondy was dissatisfied, and hostile. Fear, however, was unknown to Anne of Austria; she hated discomfort, and the absence of pompous *appareil*, and persisted in returning to the Palais Royal. The Cardinal then entreated, as her Majesty intended to reside in Paris, that she would hold her court in the Louvre, which was a semi-

* "Voyez donc," writes Guy Patin, "si cette femme ne débute pas bien! Si bien que la reine ne les nourrit plus!"—Lettre 227.

fortress, and near to the Porte de la Conference, affording a ready exit from the city in case of popular tumults. Anne replied "that her old rooms at the Louvre were unfurnished, dusty, and dreary; and that she preferred encountering any risk, at her ease in the Palais Royal." The Queen was no sooner established in Paris than Madame de Chevreuse returned with greater importunity than ever to her old solicitation for Gondy. Anne, wearied and soured, sternly refused, adding "that she should indeed prove herself to be a princess of little judgment, if she consented to elevate to the purple a man who had requited her former gift of the Coadjutorship of Paris by the blackest ingratitude." Monsieur also angrily reproached the Queen, saying "that she ought to have elicited his consent to the removal of the princes to Hâvre by persuasive means, and not by force; that he should always remember how shamefully he had been seduced, and guard himself accordingly; that affairs, notwithstanding, looked hostile for M. le Cardinal; and that he had better be on the alert." Anne replied, in a dull, careless voice, "that she was sorry Monsieur was displeased; but as there was now no helping it, the wisest course would be to make the best of the matter." The death of the dowager-princess of Condé, whom the Queen loved, and had once entirely trusted, deeply affected Anne, and increased the morbid melancholy and listlessness, under which she now suffered. The worry and uncertainty respecting her children; the humiliation of her pride, which was intense; and her banishment from court, all combined to overwhelm the

princess. At Châtillon she fretted silently, though constantly refusing to enter into the conspiracy of her daughter, and daughter-in-law to bring about the violent release of Condé. The constitution of Madame la Princesse at length gave way; and she took to her bed, and soon becoming worse all hope fled, as the patient suffered from erysipelas, and water on the chest. On her deathbed, December 2nd, 1650, she sent an affectionate and loyal message to Anne of Austria; but nevertheless desired that her Majesty should be told—"*Qu'elle mourait de la persécution faite, à elle, et à ses enfans; et qu'elle la conjurait de faire quelque réflexion sur la mort, et de se souvenir que personne n'était exempte des coups de la fortune.*" A few minutes before she expired the princess beckoned to her kinswoman, Madame de Brienne, and murmured, "Go, *ma chère amie*, go to that poor unhappy woman my daughter, at Sténay, and tell her the condition in which you have seen me, that by the mercy of God she also may prepare to die."*

The death of Madame la Princesse stimulated the friends of M. de Condé to fresh enterprises on his behalf. On the day following, December 3rd, a second petition was presented to the High Court by M. Deslandes Payen, from the young princess, entreating the interposition of the members to "compel" the release of Condé.† The petition was signed "Clémence de Maillé," and addressed to "*nos Seigneurs du Parlement*," an address highly flattering to the Chamber.

* Mém. de Motteville, an 1650; Mém. de Mademoiselle, t. i.

† Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin; Mém. de Talon, avocat-général, t. ii.

The princess also "*suppliait très humblement*," a form, to which never before in France had any princess of the blood condescended. The Palatine, meanwhile, was in daily communication with the Coadjutor, as also with the Ducs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld—personages bent on bringing about the same political result, though to be effected, as they hoped, by different methods. The dukes, especially la Rochefoucauld, hated Gondy; and remembering the alacrity with which Mazarin had accepted their proposals while at Bordeaux, plainly stated that if his Eminence would form alliance with the party of the princes—to wit, themselves, Turenne, and Madame de Longueville—they preferred to obtain Condé's freedom from the court, rather than in alliance with the turbulent leaders in Paris. La Rochefoucauld, therefore, a true gentleman and man of honour, had several interviews with Mazarin between the 16th of November and the 1st of December, the day on which the Cardinal quitted Paris to superintend the siege of Rhétal. Mazarin hesitated, believing that he held the princes securely at Hâvre; while his distrust and horror at again "loosing the lion" was such that he could not resolve upon testing again the rude partnership of Condé. The duke faithfully kept the secret which had been intrusted to him, that another coalition subsisted; and Mazarin, accustomed to be assailed by dark predictions and covert menace, asked for further initiation into the causes which threatened to produce the catastrophe alluded to by la Rochefoucauld. Playing thus unwarily with his overthrow, Mazarin quitted

Paris without giving the dukes any positive pledge respecting the princes. The Palatine, therefore, banded her army of malcontents, and took the command thereof with consummate tact. Her leaders were the Coadjutor, Madame de Chevreuse, the Duchesse de Châtillon, the Duc de Némours, and the Duc de Beaufort: the presidents, de Viole, and de Bellièvre, and the Ducs de Bouillon, and de la Rochefoucauld, who, however, still hesitated, as they commanded a strong section in the Chamber, which, in league with the Mazarinists, would have sufficed to secure the triumph of the minister. Each of these great personages had interests to serve—bribes by which their services were retained by the clever Palatine. The Coadjutor was to have his red hat; the Prince de Conty engaged to espouse the beautiful, but notorious daughter of Madame de Chevreuse; the Duc d'Enghien was to be betrothed to an infant daughter of Monsieur's; the office of high-admiral was to be confirmed to Beaufort; and Madame de Montbazon was to receive a booty of 100,000 crowns.

Anne had become again too ill to follow keenly the course of these new intrigues, and spent the greater portion of her time in bed. Her sufferings seem to have been intense, and were relieved about the middle of the month of December by the breaking of a tumour on the liver,*—the cause of her malady,

* M. Guy Patin writes, December 30, 1650—"La reine est encore au lit, plus faible que malade; elle a des inquiétudes, nec sine causâ, et elle a quelque reste de flux; on dit qu'elle pleure souvent, à cause que le Duc d'Orléans ne veut plus faire pour Mazarin, ce qu'elle désire de lui."

according to the imperfect medical statements of the day. The unfortunate Queen was pursued even on her sick-bed by parliamentary remonstrances; and thrice admitted Molé and a deputation to her bedside. She assured the first President that she was very ill and could not speak much, praying him to adjourn the debate on the petition presented by the Condé family until she was better, or until M. le Cardinal returned. Perceiving that her royal mistress was weeping very bitterly one day, the Duchesse de Chevreuse approached, and commenced, Judas-like, to offer consolation, saying, by way of testing Anne's sentiments, "that in truth M. le Cardinal was most unfortunate, as he incurred blame equally for that which he did, and that which he left alone; that she deeply regretted these strictures; nevertheless, she deemed it her duty to apprise her Majesty that such was the public aversion for the said Cardinal, that nothing he did would please or be appreciated; and therefore, that the Queen, as long as she retained his services, would continue to be unhappy and unfortunate!"* Anne's eyes flashed in disdain, and she passionately exclaimed, "Ah, Madame, then you are one of these time-serving friends! I am weary; leave me." Shortly afterwards the Queen sent for Mademoiselle de Neuillant,† who was the betrothed bride of Mazarin's faithful secretary M. de Navailles, and dictated a letter to the Cardinal, inform-

* Montglat.

† Susanne de Baudean, daughter of the Baron de Neuillant, governor of Niort, and of Françoise Tiraque. She married Philippe de Montaut de Benac, afterwards Duc de Navailles.

ing him of the discourse of Madame de Chevreuse and bidding him return to Paris, as she feared that M. le Prince, and the Coadjutor understood each other. With the Queen's letter another went forth from Madame de Chevreuse, who, suspecting Anne's intent, determined, if possible, to neutralise the resentment, and probable activity of his Eminence by plausible explanation. Great was the ire of Mazarin. The letters dimly revealed to him the confederation again built up to overthrow his power; as he knew the subtle caution of the duchess too well to suppose that she would be betrayed into such indiscretion without an adequate *point d'appui.* In his anger, Mazarin dashed his hat to the ground, uttering savage denunciations against the perfidy of the duchess. He, nevertheless, returned to Paris covered with laurels, the hero of a campaign which had driven the legions of Spain from Champagne; and before whose arms even Turenne had been compelled to retreat.

In three days the Cardinal, and his generalissimo the Marshal de Plessis, had captured again the town of Rhétal, and won a battle. All the Spanish infantry was killed or captive, the horse put to flight, and the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the French. Turenne fled for his life back to Sténay, and prepared for attack. But for the troubles of Paris, Sténay probably would have fallen before Mazarin's fortune and energy. The hostile factions even paused in their proscription of a minister of genius so varied; and the heart of Anne of Austria beat with mingled pride, joy, and hope. Gondy, ever ready to perceive, and prompt

to sustain, rose in the Chamber to arrest the menaced defection, and amid breathless silence—as it was supposed he was about to laud the achievement of the minister, still his friend and patron—he moved "that despite the glorious victory over the Spanish invaders, the Queen should be petitioned to transfer the princes from Hâvre to the Bastille, in accordance with the Declaration of the 24th of October, 1648." Long, and vehement debates then ensued upon the petitions presented by the Prince de Condé, and his consort. Mazarin arrived in Paris during this *tracasserie*. The *menées* of the Palatine and her friends had been conducted with such secresy, that the possibility of the alliance of the malcontent lords with the extreme faction of the old Fronde, seems never to have occurred to the Cardinal. On the night of his arrival in the capital, La Rochefoucauld again paid Mazarin a midnight visit, and spoke oracularly, and mysteriously on the rise, and design of a certain faction, whose projects could be defeated only by the prompt union of the late rebel lords with the government; and by the release of MM. les Princes, which all parties united in demanding. "Your Eminence will soon be in mortal peril, in mortal anguish of mind, if you suffer me to descend this staircase without a promise to release MM. les Princes. I hold power from Madame de Longueville to sign in her name and for her party, a treaty of amity with your Eminence." Mazarin smiled his placid smile, as he cautiously followed his midnight visitor down the staircase, a dark lantern in his hand, to let the duke out into the street. "Adieu,

Monsieur!" said he; "we hope to appear to you as having more cheerful prospects at our next interview!" The Duc de la Rochefoucauld had been very careful not to betray the secret of the other confederation existing for the deliverance of MM. les Princes, in case his overtures failed. The Cardinal, therefore, perceiving that M. de la Rochefoucauld had nothing in particular to confide, and that he could not even name one of his menaced foes, neither indicate a single design, imagined that the Duke exaggerated the danger to frighten him into compliance.*

From the Palais Mazarin, La Rochefoucauld went straight to the hotel of the Palatine, where many members of *la Nouvelle Fronde* were assembled. The articles of their combination were thereupon signed and adopted, and it was resolved to open the campaign on the following day, in the High Court.

The Duc de Beaufort had signed the document, and, what was more, so did the Duke of Orleans, as he considered that his honour and his safety were now synonymous with the liberty of MM. les Princes; moreover, that he was bound to vindicate his character, and to resent the humiliating *supercherie*, by which his signature to the warrant to convey the Princes to Hâvre had been extorted from him. Monsieur's signature to the new bond, however, was "extorted" by some similar "*supercherie*." It was one of the Duke's chronic foibles, to shrink at the sight of his name inscribed at the foot of any document. Caumartin, secretary to the Coadjutor, therefore, walked about

* Mém. du Duc de la Rochefoucauld sur la Régence d'Anne d'Autriche, t. ii.

for days with a copy of the new articles in his pocket, waiting for a favourable opportunity. One day as Monsieur was passing from his chamber to the vestibule of the Luxembourg, Caumartin suddenly dropped on his knees, and presented the paper and a pen, offering his back for a desk, upon which the duke hastily signed the document, and hurried away.*

Mathieu Molé, first president of the High Court, meantime promised to aid in procuring the liberation of the princes; and not to desist until the Queen gave satisfaction on the subject, and promised to respect the Declaration of October, 1648. During the first fortnight of January, 1651, the clamour continued without interval; and on the 26th, Molé and a great deputation of members went to the Palais Royal to present a petition from the Chamber. Anne was still sick, though recovering from her malady. She received the deputation reclining on her bed, over which the royal mantle was thrown. The attacks on her minister, the new league which had revealed itself, and the defection of the Coadjutor, had deeply irritated the Queen—though she was scarcely prepared for the vigour of the remonstrances about to be addressed to her. In the apartment was the Cardinal Mazarin, and Châteauneuf Lord Keeper, a secret *confrère* of the new coalition. Monsieur being conveniently taken with a gouty attack, was not present. By the side of the Queen's bed sat Louis Quatorze in a *fauteuil* placed in the *ruelle*. The boy king, who in eight short months attained his majority, and would thereupon

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii.

become the legal and despotic master of the proud array of magistrates then intruding into the sick chamber of the Queen his mother, looked flushed and constrained. His dress was of rich murray velvet, upon which the badge of St. Esprit glittered. Molé, after reverentially saluting their majesties, began his harangue in a harsh and concentrated voice. No orator could more effectually give emphasis and accent to a scolding oration; and most daring and insolent was this harangue. It recapitulated the recent calamities of the realm, the loss of Catalonia, and the reverses in Italy; evils which had occurred since the 18th of January of last year—"a day, Madame, fatal and unhappy, in which you were counselled to arrest two great princes of the blood, and a governor of Normandy. Common sense would seem to dictate that the authors of such pernicious counsel would have seen their error, and have hastened to remedy it. While all France expected this blessed redress, astonishment and dismay gathered on learning that the prisoners have been translated to a new prison—a place where their lives are endangered. Yes, Madame, I repeat again, you have sent them to a spot where their lives are in daily peril!" Molé continued to expatiate on this enormity, and its fellow—the violation of the Declaration of October, by the summary arrest of Messeigneurs—declaring that Parliament would now put forth its full strength to rescue its most humble member from such peril; and ended his harangue with this paragraph,—"Finally, Madame, it is my duty to inform you, with all possible respect, that

if your Majesty does not advise promptly, the fidelity which we owe to the realm will compel us effectually to interfere for the saving of the kingdom, and the welfare of the crown." * Perhaps had Molé glanced at the face of his young liege, while he so boldly enunciated the self-conferred power of the High Court, he might have paused in consternation. Louis sat literally shivering with passion. On the conclusion of the paragraph relating to the princes and their danger, the young King darted at the ear of his mother, whispering—"Say the word, Madame; permit me to silence that man, and to drive him with ignominy from our presence!" Anne pressed the arm of her son significantly, and continued to listen to the address with the same outward equanimity as before. A dark frown, however, gloomed over the King's handsome face, and when Molé and the deputies made their parting salutation, Louis turned aside, although the Queen gently pulled the sleeve of his habit to indicate that he should return the courtesies of M. de Molé.†

The Cardinal now fully comprehended the plot against which he had been warned. The *récalcitrant* politics of Condy, Beaufort, and Madame de Chevreuse would have been easily foiled but for their possession

* Harangue prononcée devant le roi, par M. le Président, pour la liberté de MM. les Princes; MS. Bibl. Imp., F. Dupuy, vol. 704; also Mém. de Talon; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin.

† "La reine à écouté fort patiemment M. le premier Président. Elle lui a répondu, qu'elle aviseroit avec son conseil, et qu'elle en enverroit la réponse. Quand ils ont été sortis elle a dit du premier Président, 'Voilà un homme qui a parlé fort insolemment. J'ai pensé le faire taire!'—et néanmoins elle ne l'a point fait; c'est qu'elle n'a pas osé," wrote M. Guy Patin, lettre 243.

of the ear of Monsieur, who, as lieutenant-general of the realm, possessed powers approximating to that of the Regent herself. Madame, eager and greedy, soon fell a victim to Gondy's plausibility, and joined with him heartily in designs likely to increase the dignity of her husband; who thereby might be able to aid the Duke of Lorraine, her brother, still an outcast and pensioner on Imperial bounty. The difficulty, however, was to induce Monsieur to declare himself the open enemy of Mazarin; and if success attended that effort to keep him from the syren influence of Anne of Austria. The Duchess of Orleans, whom Gondy, despite her indolence and real incapacity, found it possible for a time to inspire with the fire of his own genius, was a lady short of stature, with great *embonpoint* of figure, comely features, brilliant dark eyes, shining black hair, and *piquante* in conversation, when not too listless to talk. The dreams of Monsieur were ever imbittered by a foreshadowing of the desperate things which might be required from him. Madame, then, always close at hand cried out in his ear, "Who are you, Monsieur? Are you not lieutenant-general of this realm? Do you not legally command the armies of France? Are not you beloved by the people? As for what you say, that the Queen will leave Paris if you declare against this Cardinal, I for my part engage, as your wife, to prevent such an event!" The Duke, however, who knew the Queen better than Madame, better than Gondy, better even than Mazarin did, and who remembered the indictment of the Prince de Chalais, and the death of Mont-

morency and Cinq Mars, groaned in anticipation of evil, and refused to take encouragement. Anne meantime sent down a message by Talon to the Chamber on the 2nd of February, to the effect that "so soon as M. de Turenne, and the Duchess de Longueville had laid down arms, and delivered to the King's troops the fortress of Sténay, MM. les Princes should be set at liberty, and a plenary amnesty granted to themselves and to their adherents." More than this even the Chamber could not demand; and Molé thanked the Queen with effusion for her gracious clemency, and proposed that the Chamber should summon the delinquents of Sténay to make honourable surrender. The party headed by the Palatine, however, now saw its opportunity, and insisted, prior to all things, upon the expulsion of Mazarin,—an enterprise to be achieved only by the alliance of Monsieur, who was already half won. An incident happened on the very evening of the day upon which Anne's gracious message had been delivered to the Chamber. Monsieur being somewhat recovered from his malady, went to the Palais Royal to see the Queen, and to compliment her on her concessions. The Queen was sitting in *sa petite chambre grise*, being yet too weak to hold evening circle. The conversation turned upon that unfortunate subject, the revolution in England. Anne averred that if King Charles had not basely sacrificed his minister, Strafford, to popular clamour, less evil would have befallen him. Mazarin hotly added, "that if his enemies succeeded in treating him as the English had done Lord Strafford, that public

affairs and men in France would soon be on a level with the English democracy; that already France had its would-be Cromwell in M. le Coadjuteur, and its Fairfax in M. de Beaufort!" Monsieur bridled up at this comparison, and angrily replied, "that the magistrates of the Parliament of Paris were virtuous, conscientious and loyal men, who, although they opposed the designs of M. le Cardinal, were loyal to the King, and devoted to the crown!" Anne interposing, spoke with anger and bitterness against Gondy, and the faction hostile to M. de Mazarin, threatening ere long to make all enemies taste the power of the crown; in which assertion her Majesty was seconded by the King, her son. Monsieur, scared out of his wits, hurriedly took leave; and thankful to be able to leave the Palais Royal with a whole skin, he exclaimed to M. Jouey, who was waiting below in the Duke's coach, that "he would never again place himself in the power of *cette enragée furie!*" meaning the Queen.* It was regarded as the deadliest of insults by a member of the Parliament of Paris, to liken him to an English Roundhead; or the cause of the Fronde to the "mutiny of Cromwell's accursed partisans, and regicides." Molé, and the moderate section of the Chamber were checked in the height of their enthusiasm for reform by their horror at the execution of Charles the First; and the term "*chambre de communes*," which had committed such iniquity in England, when reproachfully applied to any assembly in France, sufficed to insure the dispersion of the debaters.

* Mém. de Retz, vol. ii. p. 227.

Gondy, who, as the confidant of Monsieur, now haunted the Luxembourg, was enchanted at the *fracas* at the Palais Royal; and perceiving that the evil animus in the Chamber was likely to flood over, from the recital of Mazarin's foolish parallel, craved permission to inform the members of the incident. Monsieur requested leisure for thought; and the next morning was reported to be suffering again from excruciating gout, which quite incapacitated him from showing himself in public. Madame, meantime, had diligently nursed his resentment against Mazarin; also a dread of the penalties which the Cardinal might inflict after the majority of the King in the ensuing month of September, now took possession of Monsieur's illogical mind. Gondy was charmed at the mood of his royal highness. Monsieur, therefore, sent a message to Anne of Austria by the lord keeper Châteauneuf, to wit, "that he never would again enter the Palais Royal while M. le Cardinal remained there, as he perceived that he would be the ruin of the realm." The same day, Gondy, from his place in the Chamber, assured members of the concurrence of his royal highness the lieutenant-general, in their effort to release MM. les Princes. The Coadjutor also made formal communication to the Chamber, by command, as he said, of M. d'Orléans, of the injurious expressions and comparisons, between themselves, the English Commons, Cromwell, and Fairfax, uttered by M. de Mazarin,—which facts had convinced Monsieur that no means should be omitted to rid the realm of a personage so dangerous, and mendacious. A tumultuous scene ensued; the members,

young and old, rose to repudiate the invidious parallel; and amid exclamations of resentment, and hate, a motion was put to the vote—to summon M. le Cardinal Mazarin to the bar of the Chamber, to answer for his execrable administration, crimes, and malversations, and then to decree his perpetual banishment from the realm. Never was a princess more confounded than was Anne of Austria at this sudden defection of Monsieur, and the consequent resolution of the Chamber. Mazarin was no less astounded; but in a cooler moment its antidote would have occurred to him, as it did to Gondy, to Monsieur, and others, who scarce dared to breathe pending their suspense. The simple remedy was, for Anne and her son on the instant to have departed for St. Germain, and from thence, to have placed themselves at the head of the great army of the South, under La Meilleraye, for the few remaining months of the minority. The next day, fortune was no longer at their beck. Monsieur, under the dexterous finger of Gondy, was a different being to the terror-stricken prince, always fighting mentally with horrors, and distresses. Nothing occurred on the emergency to the Queen, other than to subjugate Monsieur by her usual arts. She sent to implore him to visit her, or to receive M. le Cardinal; she despatched message after message deploring her inability to bear the movement of a coach, or she would visit the Luxembourg. She wrote letters, expostulations,—all to no purpose; Monsieur feared to fall under the spell, as he confessed himself to be weak as water in her Majesty's presence.

The Duke therefore remained inexorable, retiring to bed, and ordering that no one should be admitted to his chamber,—a command which Madame took care to second. The following morning Gondy persuaded Monsieur to go down to the Chamber, where he was greeted with acclamations. In a fluent speech, Monsieur gave his royal word to obtain the liberty of the Princes, and the exile of Mazarin. Whilst the Duke was still speaking, M. de Rhodes, grand master of the ceremonies, entered the Chamber—a *lettre de cachet* in hand, which he presented to the first president. Thereby the Queen summoned her faithful Parliament to the Palais Royal, to hear a communication from her own lips. Molé, and a great swarm of deputies, repaired therefore to the palace, leaving Monsieur and his supporters, on the benches of the house to await his return. The Queen received the deputation in state; she was evidently distressed, and ailing. First, her Majesty assured M. le Président Molé, that the Marshal de Grammont had already departed for Hâvre to negotiate the capitulation of Sténay with M. le Prince. She then desired M. de Guénégaud to read a formal contradiction of Gondy's narrative of the *fracas* at the Palais Royal, made on the authority of Monsieur. This document was couched in the strongest language. M. de Guénégaud read it indistinctly, and with embarrassment. Anne, however, repeated in her own clear, telling voice, every word, and every passage, slurred over by the secretary of state. This paper, which was to be at once communicated to the Chamber, was as follows:—"All the facts communi-

cated to the Chamber by M. le Coadjuteur on the alleged authority of Monsieur, are false, and invented by the said Coadjutor: he has therefore lied: *(il en a menti),*"—these words are inserted on the margin of the paper in the Queen's own hand:—"he is an unprincipled, and turbulent demagogue, who gives pernicious advice to Monsieur. He now conspires to ruin the realm, because he has been refused the dignity of cardinal; and has boasted that he will set fire to the four corners of the kingdom, and will meantime stand at the head of 100,000 men to slay all loyal citizens, and subjects who may apply themselves to extinguish the conflagration thus conjured!" * This paper was signed by the four secretaries of state; and Anne observed, that in the course of a few days she would send to the Chamber a truthful and faithful narrative of the conversation — which promise her Majesty performed. Anne then spoke to Molé about the conduct of Monsieur, who refused to visit her, or to share the responsibility of the negotiations pending with MM. les Princes. She authorised the first president to express to Monsieur in full chamber her desire to see him; and to request him in her name to visit the Palais Royal. Molé faithfully performed his mission: and said that the Queen gave her royal word that the Princes should be released so soon as M. Turenne laid down arms. He then conjured Monsieur not to complicate affairs by a quarrel with the Queen, but to visit the Palais Royal as requested.

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii. p. 239. "L'expression était un peu forte, et je vous assure que je n'avais rien dit que en approchât," adds Gondy, innocently.

Monsieur listened uneasily, and said, "What M. le Président recommended was of the last consequence; and that he must reflect." "Monsieur," replied Molé, "we beseech you not to ruin the realm, or to defeat the Queen's clement intentions; you have always loved the King." The Coadjutor intervening, proposed that the request should be made a subject of public debate; for he perceived that Monsieur was moved, and with a little more pressing would visit the Queen. Monsieur then recovered his spirits, and declared that he would make a statement, which must exonerate him from attending council until after the exile of M. le Cardinal. In an elegant and easy oration* he then entered into details of the manner in which his opinion had always been coerced by the Queen and M. le Cardinal; more frank, perhaps, than creditable to his intellect. "The King," said Monsieur, "being at Fontainebleau, I went thither, not having received reply to three letters which I had written to her Majesty, to ask, as the Spaniards had retired, whether MM. les Princes should not be removed from Marcoussy back to Vincennes. At Fontainebleau the Queen asked me to consent to the transfer of the prisoners to Hâvre; her Majesty pressed me earnestly and resolutely, so that, in order not to irritate her beyond measure, I was obliged to consent. Nevertheless, I signified to the lord keeper, and to M. le Tellier that I did not approve or sanction this translation; and that, in a matter of

* Harangue de M. Duc d'Orléans; Registres du Parlement de Paris, ann. 1651; Archives du Royaume; Mém. de Talon, avocat-général; Mém. de Retz, t. ii.

such importance, my consent should not have been extorted, but won by argument. M. le Cardinal caused the Queen to reprimand me, and even ventured on something of the kind himself. Since then he has been bitter against me, so that whenever we have met in council, the greater part of the time has been lost in frivolous disputes. He has hidden from me her Majesty's counsels; and has even proposed to me to sanction violent measures against this honourable Company. He has commanded me to abandon my nephew M. de Beaufort, and M. le Coadjuteur. He has inspired the King with violent anger against his subjects,—with a distrust which one day we shall rue, and with arbitrary maxims of government. Finally, on Wednesday last, in speaking of your assemblies, he said, 'that he perceived bad will towards the King; that you made pretence to begin by sacrificing him, as in England they had sacrificed the viceroy of Ireland; but that afterwards neither myself nor the Queen, nor the King, would escape. But that if I would let him act, he would speedily annihilate all malcontents.' I replied, that the Parliament of Paris did not resemble the Parliament of London; that you were all honest people, and good subjects; and that your censures were aimed at himself, whom you regarded as the sole origin of disaster. And I said to the Queen, that I could not endure to consort with a man who filled his Majesty's mind with such notions and evil conceits!" This speech, pronounced with facility, grace and majesty of demeanour, was applauded vehemently. The President Molé, however,

again pressed Monsieur earnestly to see the Queen, adding, that the Marshal de Grammont was gone to Hâvre to release the said Princes. Monsieur, however, remained inexorable, feeling that the sympathy of the house went with him; and left the Palais proud of his recently acquired steadiness of purpose, still more angered at the Queen, and resolved upon the expulsion of Mazarin. He therefore sent for M. de Brienne, and charged him to see the Queen again, and inform her that he could not enter her presence until after the departure of M. de Mazarin; that he should be compelled to speak vexatious things to her, and therefore that their interview had better be postponed. Anne smiled at Monsieur's prudent, plausible reasons, knowing that she could bend his will at pleasure. At her request, the Queen of England visited him to expostulate. Henrietta found her brother flushed with excitement, marching up and down his long gallery accompanied by forty gentlemen, who were highly lauding his courage and patriotism. She obtained nothing; but as she was retiring, some insolent partisan gave an ironical cheer, "*Vive la Mazarine!*" Henrietta angrily returned, and told her brother that unless he taught his friends to respect her and her royal dignity, she would never set foot in his house again! During the course of the same afternoon, Monsieur, in his capacity as lieutenant-general of the realm, sent a formal interdiction to the marshals of France to act by other orders than his own. The same mandate was sent to the provost of Paris. Madame, at the suggestion of Gondy, vainly urged her

husband to seize the gates of the capital, to guard against the retreat of the King, with Mazarin. Monsieur moodily replied, "that he had not yet gone the length of conspiring to imprison the King!" At the Palais Royal consternation reigned; Anne abandoned herself to despair;—Mazarin was lost, inevitably ruined; every faction was united against him! Determined to make one supreme effort to detach Monsieur from his "servitude" to the Coadjutor, Anne resolved to risk her still feeble health by paying a visit to the Luxembourg. Brienne, however, informed Monsieur of the honour intended him. The Duke turned pale, then red, and at length went into a passion, and desired him to inform her Majesty "that as she entered his palace by one door, he should leave by another!" In Anne's steady grip Monsieur felt himself lost; and in very self-defence he was goaded to extremity when sending such a message.*

The following day, February 7th, the Chamber resolved almost unanimously that an address should be presented to the Queen, praying her to remove Cardinal Mazarin from the conduct of affairs; and to be pleased to grant immediate liberty to MM. les Princes. Anne received the address in silence: the Lord Keeper Châteauneuf replied, that her Majesty would advise upon the matter. The attitude of the Chamber elicited great tokens of approbation in public. The people were persuaded that the in-

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii. Brigues pour le Gouvernement—Bibl. Imp., Suppl. F., No. 300, MS.

fluence of Mazarin hindered the ratification of peace; the very resistance which the Queen made to the popular will, rendered the King's subjects more hostile to a foreign prelate, whose power over her mind was sufficient to kindle such contention. The cry in Paris was now for MM. les Princes. Even persons gratified by the *bienveillance* of Mazarin, were glad to get rid of a personage whose name had served as a *cri de guerre* during all the past years of the Regency.

Meantime, Anne and her minister consulted. It was clear that Monsieur would now hold to his word, and not approach the palace until after the Cardinal's departure. One half hour with Monsieur alone in *sa petite chambre grise* Anne felt would undo and defeat all the plots of the Coadjutor. The majority of the King approached; but, during the intervening eight months, Anne felt that the due exercise of the royal power in Paris was impossible. A great army was on foot in the provinces; the Ducs d'Epernon, de Candale, de Mercœur, the Marshals du Plessis-Praslin, and la Ferté, the Marquis d'Hocquincourt, the Counts de Palluau and de Broglie, were devoted friends of the Queen, and Mazarin. The majority of the King being at hand, not one potent vassal of the crown, probably would presume to raise the banner of revolt. Departure from Paris, the Queen at length perceived, was her rescue from insolent dictation. It was, therefore, concerted between the Queen and Mazarin, that feigning to obey the edicts of the Parliament, and to retreat before the vindictive temper of Monsieur, the Cardinal should

take formal farewell of the court, and retire to St. Germain. Monsieur, the Queen did not doubt, would then hasten to make his peace; she would accept his apologies, and under cover of the semblance of perfect amity, escape from Paris, rejoin the Cardinal, and put herself with him at the head of the army under the Marshal de la Meilleraye. The vigilant eye, and keen brain of Mazarin descried already the ruin of the haughty faction which decreed his exile. In France great political triumphs have always become bootless in results for want of the amalgamation of classes; the nobles, the Church, the magistracy, the commons, remain distinct, aloof, each with its separate aspirations and grievances; and each class treacherously undermining the privileges obtained by the other upon the slightest suspicion that such are hostile to its own peculiar wants, and views. There was no such thing existing then in France as public spirit, honourable, unselfish, and enlightened. The great lords, therefore, jealous and indignant that the Parliament should arrogate to itself the power of expelling Mazarin and liberating the princes, united under the presidency of the Duc de Nemours—a coalition which soon numbered five hundred members. At first this assembly acted with the Parliament in the affair of Condé, and despatched circular letters into the provinces approving the course adopted by the Chamber, and exhorting the provincial parliaments, and corporate bodies to petition the crown. Resistance to this formidable coalition was impossible; but yet, on the very eve of his departure, Mazarin instructed his apt pupil,

Queen Anne, how this mighty growth, on the touch of her sceptre, might collapse and shrivel. The lords had renewed their articles of union, and had declared their assembly indissoluble until the meeting of the States General, as they had done in the autumn of 1649.

During the night preceding the departure of Mazarin, the marriage of Mademoiselle de Neuillant with M. de Navailles was celebrated in the Queen's private chapel. Navailles was to attend his master; while his wife, who was then the recipient of Anne's private favour, undertook to receive the letters of his Eminence, and transmit them to the Queen. Anne, borne up by the hope of speedy re-union, maintained tolerable composure, and entered with earnestness, and intelligence into the final instructions of her minister. Around the Queen, Mazarin left faithful servants, such as le Tellier, Servien, the Abbé Fouquet, Bertaut, and others. His concealed, and venomous foes in the household were the Marshal de Villeroy, governor of the King, and the Lord Keeper, Châteauneuf. The Duchesses de Chevreuse, and d'Aiguillon, whose *menées* with the hostile clique were not yet fully known, had counselled Mazarin to absent himself for an interval; moreover Madame de Chevreuse is said to have formed the mental resolve, so soon as the marriage of her daughter with the Prince de Conty was accomplished, to reconcile herself to the Queen, by doing all in her power to recall the minister. The last instructions given to his indulgent and attached mistress, the Cardinal, confiding the care of his private affairs to le Tellier, and the

guardianship of his nieces to the Queen, prepared sorrowfully to quit Paris. Anne intrusted Mazarin with a secret order, signed by her own hand, commanding the Sieur du Bar to give up the fortress of Hâvre, with its prisoners, at the summons of the Cardinal; and to admit his Eminence with any number of troops. It was then the Queen's intention to fly to Hâvre from St. Germain, and there to dictate terms to the capital. On the 7th of February Mazarin appeared for the last time in the circle of the Regent. Already mutinous demonstrations against him had commenced in the streets of the capital. He entered calmly, and with self-possession approached the Queen's chair. Many curious and malignant eyes shone with scarcely repressed triumph at seeing, at length, the humiliation of the minister. The Cardinal kissed the Queen's hand, and then steadily said, "that as all the principal personages of the court had voted for his exile, even M. le Duc d'Orleans, he did not think he could longer serve the King. He therefore begged her Majesty's licence to retire from France, though he should never forget the obligations which he owed to her, and to the King." Anne replied by simply giving the permission asked for, promising on her part to continue to the fallen minister her esteem. "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "spoke to him for some time before all the court. We who were present at this conference could not perceive any agitation of emotion on her face. She was sedate, as usual. Her heart, which doubtless throbbed with passion, hate, sorrow, and mortification, gave no outward sign of her senti-

ments; and never have I seen her look more composed than on that eventful evening." Madame de Motteville, though domesticated for so many years with the Queen, read her character merely by its surface. She really never perceived the deep volcanoes of passion and sentiment which slumbered beneath the Queen's placid aspect; she never suspected a hidden motive, a hidden feeling; never even dared to surmise that her mistress could do wrong, or even think a thought other than such as charity and piety inspired. She represents the Queen as a victim to foul intrigue and her own good intentions; a woman indolent, credulous, innocent, irritable, and fond of eating and sleeping! Anne of Austria understood "her good de Motteville," and now and then charmed her by the rehearsal of a little sentimental scene, which transported the latter with respectful sympathy, and compelled her to believe and report exactly what her Majesty wished.

To return to Mazarin. He lingered, entered the council chamber, addressed a courteous word here and there, until his chamberlain, the Abbé de Palluau, appeared, and whispered in his ear. Mazarin looked startled; for a loud cry arose from without of "*Aux armes! Aux armes!*" He then passed from the council chamber into the passage which led to his apartments, without again entering into the royal presence. The Cardinal then hastily exchanged his robes for a cavalier's costume, a red cloak, with rapier at his side, and a hat with plumes, and attended by the Count de Broglie and two gentlemen, he stealthily departed from the Palais Royal by the garden postern.

The streets were filled with people. "*Vive le Roy! Point de Mazarin! Point de Mazarines! Main basse sur toute cette engeance! Tuë! Vive le Roy!*" To such sounds Mazarin timed his departing steps. He declares that he felt no depression, no feeling of insecurity. His confidence in Anne of Austria was unflinching;* and his conviction not to be shaken that in a brief period the mighty factions, whose sudden union exiled him, would be broken, divided, and prostrate before the Queen, and her son. At the end of the Rue St. Honoré, at the Porte Richelieu, Mazarin found a gallant company of four hundred cavaliers, under the Count d'Harcourt, ever his constant friend. The Cardinal, who was a skilful horseman, mounted a bay charger, and favoured by a cold and somewhat foggy night, he soon reached St. Germain in safety, where he spent the night.*

The Queen, meantime, sat throughout the dreary hours which she was accustomed to spend in her presence chamber, immovable and outwardly gracious. Doubtless indignation sustained her, with the hope of inflicting speedy vengeance and confusion on her foes. The same night the Abbé Ondedei, one of Mazarin's chaplains, went to Val de Grâce for the three nieces of the Cardinal, as the Queen feared for their safety. When Anne retired for the night these young ladies waited in her oratory. Anne embraced them cheerfully, and confided them to the care of Madame de Navailles, who kept the three girls hidden in her room

* Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin; Gualdo, ibid.; Siri; Gazette de France, 1651.

for more than a week. Early on the following morning Madame de Motteville, kissing her Majesty's hand, asked her how she felt? "*Vous le pouvez juger vous même*," replied the Queen; who thereupon led Madame de Motteville to her oratory, for the purpose of a little scene. "What do you say to the dire condition in which I now find myself?" said her Majesty to her friend, who had thrown herself at the Queen's feet, weeping. Madame de Motteville then ventured upon a long harangue, in which she covertly attacked the absent Cardinal; showing that "*de l'avis des plus sages, il avait manqué de conduite en beaucoup de choses;*" although the Queen ought to feel very miserable at losing his Eminence, on the whole it would eventually become a matter of rejoicing. "Anne looked steadily at her would-be Mentor, who was now administering the usual bitter dose, well concealed by honeyed phrases; and said, that she was aware the Cardinal was fallible and not perfect, but where could she find a minister that was so? that she would defend to the last a man of whose services she had been forcibly deprived; that the first five years of her regency were happy and prosperous; that his friends having betrayed M. de Mazarin, she was the more bound to continue her protection." Anne then dismissed Madame de Motteville, in order to grant audience to M. de Brienne. The Queen commanded Brienne to repair to the Luxembourg, and inform Monsieur "that the Cardinal was gone; and she therefore begged him to repair at once to her presence, as he averred that the welfare of the King was his dearest

consideration." Monsieur replied, that he was then going to the Chamber, but on his return would send his answer to her Majesty.

The departure of Mazarin—an event so sudden, so swift, and in degree voluntary, inasmuch as the Chamber had not passed any formal decree concerning him—filled the public mind with surprise, and suspicion. "Why is he gone, and wherefore?" were questions repeatedly passed from lip to lip. Gradually a perception of the *coup d'état* meditated by Anne and her minister dawned on the minds of all. A terrible fear likewise possessed the members of the factions lest Mazarin had so speedily accepted *le clef des champs* only by the aid of the army under his good friend la Meilleraye, to render the prison of the princes doubly hopeless, except on his own conditions. Molé and the Chamber had lost faith in the word of the Queen; a few days previously she had angrily informed the President that she denied the right of the Chamber to dictate to her on the choice of a minister, and that she should retain the services of M. de Mazarin for as long a time as she pleased. Monsieur's explanations were therefore well received, when on the 8th of February, the morning following the departure of Mazarin, he reported the message he had received from her Majesty; adding, "that the Queen invited him again to confer with her, but he did not yet deem his visit expedient, as M. le Cardinal was at St. Germain, and governed the kingdom as before; that he proposed to banish the said Cardinal from France; and desired to be excused from seeing her Majesty until

after the arrival of MM. les Princes." In the Chamber a decree of attainder was passed with acclamation against Mazarin, exiling him and his dependants from the realm; and declaring all persons who harboured or assisted the said Cardinal Mazarin guilty of high treason. A deputation was, moreover, sent to the Queen, to congratulate and thank her on the departure of M. de Mazarin from Paris; requesting her Majesty to command his immediate departure from the realm; and praying her to confirm, by a royal declaration under the great seal, the edict of Parliament against him. Anne replied, "that as for the liberty of MM. les Princes, she should take no further step in the matter until a conference had been holden with Monsieur; that she had no intention of recalling the Cardinal."* Anne's determination alarmed Monsieur to such a degree that he proposed to quit Paris, and retire to his country seat at Limours. He termed the Queen "*une femme terrible.*" The same evening Anne summoned a council extraordinary at the Palais Royal, consisting of MM. de Vendôme, de Nemours, d'Elbœuf, d'Harcourt, d'Epernon, de Rieux, de l'Hôpital, de Villeroy, de Plessis, and d'Hocquincourt. With lucid self-possession she related all that had happened—the coalition, the departure of Mazarin, and the conduct of Monsieur. She bitterly complained of the duke, and requested the lords present to invite him to return to the council. If he still declined, Anne proposed to send the Lord-Keeper Châteauneuf to the Luxembourg, to concert measures for the instant release of the

* Registres du Parlement de Paris, ann. 1651.

princes. The lords accepted the mission; but found Monsieur in a towering passion, vowing that he would never trust himself within the portals of the Palais Royal until Mazarin was out of the realm, and Condé in Paris! Monsieur so far forgot himself as to taunt the Duc d'Elbœuf as "*Mazarin fieffé.*" As for the proposition for his interview with Châteauneuf, Monsieur declared himself satisfied, but denounced any subterfuges, as the Parliament and himself were agreed, he said, in insisting on the release of the princes. On the 9th of February the conference, therefore, took place at the Luxembourg, Madame de Chevreuse being present; and it was finally agreed that the Duc de la Rochefoucauld and the under-secretary of state la Vrillière, should set out on the 11th, with a *lettre de cachet* to bring back MM. les Princes, *sous le bon plaisir du Roy.*

Anne, meantime, having failed in her intent to turn the tables on the insolent tyrants of faction by carrying off Monsieur from the capital, converted and humble, by virtue of the fascinations of which he possessed so wholesome a dread, prepared for her own secret departure with the King on the night of the 10th, to rejoin Mazarin at St. Germain. Anne's composure had been too remarkable; and the facility with which she gave up her point, after her vehement protestations that she would do nothing to release the princes from durance until Monsieur had returned to the council-board, aroused the curiosity of the Coadjutor, who warned Monsieur that Anne meditated a flight from Paris. Mazarin had quitted St. Germain for Senlis, on his road to Hâvre; while d'Harcourt had placed himself at

the head of the army in Normandy, and was on the alert. In the household, however, were spies, whom the Queen at that period did not suspect—the Marshal de Villeroy hated Mazarin; Châteauneuf prayed daily for the downfall of his Eminence, and himself aspired to the post of first minister of state. Moreover, all the queen's ladies, and officers, down to the humblest inmate of the Palais Royal, wished Mazarin God speed, wearied of the constant cabals, plots, conspiracies, and revolutionary edicts given against him. There was no quiet in the realm; palace plots abounded; the Queen was alienated and completely guided by the Cardinal; she had no favourites; she accorded no facility of access to her ladies—Mazarin absorbed all privilege, and confidence. Deadly jealousies therefore resulted; hate would have obscured the rise of a French favourite under such circumstances; but the blackest envy and malignity attached itself to a foreign cardinal promoted to such pre-eminence. All the inhabitants of the Palais Royal, therefore, deprecated the flight of the Queen to follow Mazarin; all were ready to watch, to report, to prevent what was considered a disgraceful step, and one likely to bring heavy national calamity. "Let the Regent consult and trust the princes of the blood royal, and her chivalrous nobility; let her govern in accord with the edicts of the Parliament; let her put aside that perpetual heart-burn and foil M. de Mazarin, and trust to the loyalty of her people!" On the 10th of February Anne had taken every measure for flight; she had confided her intention to leave Paris to le Tellier, to Châteauneuf, and to Madame de Beauvais.

Her carriages were ordered, and everything prepared for a midnight sally forth from the Palais Royal like her celebrated expedition to St. Germain, on the eve of the Epiphany, 1649. "Every night, Monsieur was informed, the Queen gave audience to le Tellier, Palluau, Navailles, Castelnau Mauvissière, and other creatures of the Cardinal, who had persuaded her to fly from Paris with the King, to put herself at the head of the army; by doing which, she could countermand the liberty of the princes, maintain the Cardinal, and compel obedience from the Parliament, and from Monsieur! One day Monsieur received an anonymous letter, stating that on the night between the 10th and the 11th, her Majesty intended to leave Paris."* That note, Anne afterwards discovered, was written by Châteauneuf; and it for ever sealed his doom to that obscurity which he hated. The Marshal d'Aumont, commandant for the district of the Palais Royal, likewise informed Monsieur, during the afternoon of the 9th, that special orders had been given to the palace guard by the Queen in person. The Marshal d'Albret also gave notice that some enterprise was in meditation by her Majesty. All these noblemen afterwards made assertion on their honour, that these intimations had been made in a spirit of true patriotism and loyalty, to rescue their country from the scourge of civil war, and to rectify the result of the natural irritation felt by the Queen at the events of the past fortnight. Finding that Monsieur did nothing but keep still closer to

* Montglat; De Retz; Omer Talon; Guy Joly; Duchesse de Nemours; Rapport fait au Parlement de Paris; Registres du Parlement.

the Luxembourg, Châteauneuf, ascertaining that her Majesty's private preparations for departure continued, communicated with Villeroy late in the evening of the 10th of February. The latter informed the Lord-Keeper that the King, on retiring for the night, had been overheard to order the groom of his wardrobe to leave a suit of black velvet in his chamber; also his boots. This trifling incident confirmed their suspicion of the Queen's intentions; and to prevent her Majesty from leaving Paris—"to run," as they coarsely expressed it, "after that renegade Italian priest"—admitted of not a moment's delay. Villeroy, therefore, rushed to the Hôtel of Madame de Chevreuse with the disastrous news; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, hastily throwing a hood upon her head, was then driven (it is thought by Villeroy himself) to the palace of the Coadjutor. Ascending to the ante-chamber of his apartment, she sent in his valet to rouse Gondy, and to present a bit of paper upon which were the words, "*Venez en diligence au Luxembourg; et prenez garde à vous par les chemins!*" in the writing of the Duchesse de Chevreuse. It was already ten o'clock, and Gondy, ever alert, in a few minutes had joined Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who sat disconsolately on a coffer in the ante-room, and together they were soon *en route* for the Luxembourg. Unless Monsieur could be roused to exertion and to command, the peril was extreme; as no mere subject dared risk the penalties of high treason, by ordering the disarmament of the King's guards at the gates of the town. Madame de Chevreuse was already at the Luxembourg

by the side of the duke, brave, eloquent, and energetic. On the arrival of the Coadjutor and his fair ally, the two, without ceremony, rushed into Monsieur's bed-chamber, from which voices in urgent altercation resounded. The duke was in bed, covered to the ears under his quilt, pale, quaking with fear and with irritation. Madame sat up in bed, her elbow resting on the bolster, vigorously haranguing Monsieur, and entreating him to rise to save the realm by arresting the escape of "*cette diablesse d'Espagne.*" Madame de Chevreuse sat on the other side of the bed, breathless and flushed from the fervour of her exhortations to the duke, to bestir himself in this critical emergency. The scene was so droll that the Coadjutor, notwithstanding his anxiety, could not refrain from laughing. Monsieur put up his head dolefully, and exclaimed, on seeing the Coadjutor, "Ah! did I not tell you? What are we to do?" "Seize the gates of Paris," responded Gondy. "At this hour? Impossible!" and Monsieur shrank still further out of sight. The ladies again returned to the assault; but all that could be obtained from Monsieur was that he would send Destouches, captain of his Swiss Guard, to the Queen, "to entreat her to reflect on the step she was about to take." Madame, in a rage, called to Gondy to give her a writing-case which lay at hand, and, sitting up in bed, she scribbled the following order: "M. le Coadjuteur is ordered and authorised to make a call to arms throughout the city, to prevent the accomplices of Cardinal Mazarin, condemned by the Parliament, from conveying the King from Paris.—MARGUERITE DE LORRAINE."

Monsieur then flew at Madame and snatched the paper from her hand, tearing it into shreds, which he vehemently cast from him, beginning to scold in a querulous voice. Gondy, knowing how precious every moment was, seeing that nothing could be done with Monsieur, who absolutely refused to rise, took his leave, choosing to trust to his own resources, which never failed. "I answer for Monsieur to-morrow. Let M. le Coadjuteur act as he knows to be necessary!" screamed the Duchess of Orleans. "M. le Coadjuteur," shouted Monsieur, "I do not wish, mind, to quarrel altogether with the Parliament; but to arrest his Majesty——." The Duchesse de Chevreuse shut the door irreverently before his royal highness finished his tirade; and the clever trio were left to their own resources to combat the fierce resolves of Anne of Austria.*

Villeroy, meantime, had not been idle. He called upon the Duc de Nemours, who immediately rose, comprehending the crisis, and placed himself on guard at the head of the regiment in the vicinity of the Palais Royal. The Marshal de la Mothe, and the Marshal d'Aumont were already making diligent patrol through the streets, so imperative was it considered to prevent the departure of the young King. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse flew next to rouse up M. de Beaufort; while the Coadjutor, soon surrounded by a swarm of secret partisans, beat up the quarters of various city function-

* Mém. de Retz; de Guy Joly; Brigues pour le Gouvernement; MS. Bibl. Imp., Suppl. F., No. 300; Mém. de la Duchesse de Chevreuse; Montglât; Madame de Motteville.

aries and colonels of the wards, and amongst others M. Broussel. Soon the *rataplan* sounded in many obscure streets, rousing hordes of savage-looking ruffians, who swarmed from their dark cellars, eager for a fray. "They are stealing the King! *Vive le Roy! Au secours!*" was the insidious cry raised by the Coadjutor, and his subalterns. The city flew to arms; reminiscences of the horrors of the late siege, which was preceded by the King's clandestine flight, roused the honest citizens of Paris, and brought to their shrinking recollection famine, arbitrary taxation, daily drills, mob law, skirmishes in which they always got the worst, ruin, and misery! Manfully, therefore, they flew to arms to rescue their young sovereign from the clutches of Mazarin, and from the delusive vagaries of Dame Anne.

At the Palais Royal, meantime, all was silence and outward repose. At her usual time, Anne of Austria dismissed her ladies with admirable *aplomb*, said the last prayer in her oratory that she hoped there to utter before the King's majority, ate her supper, submitted to the offices of her tirewomen, and stepped into bed by midnight. At one o'clock on the morning of the 11th her Majesty intended to rise, following in all matters the precedent of her former flight. At half-past two M. Beringhen and his coaches were to be at the garden postern, to convey her Majesty, her sons, the friends of Mazarin, and Mesdames de Navailles and de Beauvais, to St. Germain. The palace clocks had scarcely struck the hour of twelve, when dull murmuring sounds and distant cries were heard in the streets,

in the vicinity of the Palais Royal. Closer and nearer the sounds rolled onwards, until under the very windows of the palace itself, cries echoed. The sentry at the gates of the palace was challenged; a parley ensued, and preceded by the Marshal d'Aumont, captain of the guard on duty, the Ducs de Beaufort, and de Nemours ascended to her Majesty's apartments, to the very door of her bedchamber. A violent knocking at this door brought out Madame de Beauvais in *déshabille*, pale, and trembling; who, after taking orders from the Queen, conducted the lords to her Majesty's bedside. In a few words their mission was told. Anne boldly denied that her intention had been to leave Paris; she indignantly ordered the dukes from her presence; and rising, commanded the guard to be doubled, and sent expresses for the Duc d'Epernon, and other friends on whom she could rely. Finding that all hope of escape was at an end by the vigilance of her foes, Anne prepared to play her part in the coming drama—and none could do so more skilfully or effectually. A dark fear, however, racked her heart—was it the design of Monsieur to seize the persons of the King and his brother, depose her from her Regency, and immure her within the walls of Val de Grâce? Quicker almost than the thought arose, Anne resolved to make her discomfiture the occasion of still another triumph over her adversaries—still another foil to Monsieur.

Madame de Motteville and others, roused from their slumbers, rejoined their royal mistress, trembling with terror; while the lords whom the Queen had sum-

moned never came. At length a page informed her Majesty that M. Destouches, captain of the Swiss guards to Monsieur, demanded audience. Destouches being introduced, said "that he had been sent by M. le Duc to know the reason of the commotion; that his royal highness had been informed her Majesty intended to leave Paris that night with her sons, but he hereby informed her that he and his friends were in arms to prevent such a suicidal action!" Anne haughtily replied, "that such a thought never had entered into her head; that when the disturbance began, she and her household were asleep; that Monsieur had iniquitously spread false reports, and must take the consequences; that, far from thinking of leaving Paris, the King and his brother were then fast asleep in their beds." Destouches replied, "that his master had ordered him not to leave the palace until he had seen the King." Anne made some difficulties, probably feeling doubtful of the fortitude, and presence of mind of the young King. Monsieur's envoy again insolently repeated, "that his orders were, not to leave the palace without seeing the King." Anne shrugged her shoulders, and turning to Villeroy, ordered him to conduct M. Destouches to his Majesty's chamber. The King lay asleep, or rather pretended to sleep, as he afterwards confessed. M. Destouches took a flambeau, and drawing near to the bed examined its occupant, to make sure that no fraud was being practised upon him. Satisfied at length with his survey, he took his leave to report to his royal master the state of affairs in the palace. Crowds

filled the adjacent streets, armed with every kind of weapon of assault—fierce faces met the gaze everywhere. The Rue St. Honoré, even to the roofs of the houses, swarmed with ruffians, ready if needs be to tear down the palace, to hinder the King's flight. Destouches assured the angry multitude that the King was there; that he had seen his Majesty asleep, as any one of them might do so likewise. Whether Destouches meant this literally was never explained; but the voices of the people thereupon rose like thunder to the sky, and with one impulse an assault was made on the gates of the palace. A loud blow shivered with a crash the iron trelliswork of one of the outer gates. Anne's ladies screamed, and fled to hide themselves, leaving her Majesty attended only by Mesdames de Navailles, and de Motteville. The boom of the alarm-bell of the palace then rang forth, to rally defenders around the person of the Queen. The Ducs de Nemours, Beaufort, d'Aumont, and others, now seriously alarmed for the personal safety of their Majesties, appeared; but the Queen, showing no symptom of fear, inquired what the people wished? "To see his Majesty with their own eyes," replied M. de Beaufort. Anne instantly ordered the portals of the palace to be thrown open; declaring that she herself would show the King to her good people, and defeat the mischievous malice of her enemies! One of the lords present attempted to remonstrate, speaking of the peril, and insult, which she might incur. Anne, however, waved him imperiously back, and advancing alone with a firm step, she entered the

gallery through which lay the passage to the King's chamber.

Up the marble staircase, pell-mell, the rough rabble bounded, and through the guard-chamber into the gallery where Anne waited. Awed by the stately apartment, the people advanced slowly; and when they descried her Majesty, made lowly reverence. The Queen greeted them as "*mes amis*," and told them she had never any intention to quit Paris, and that she herself would show them their King! Followed by the motley throng, Anne entered the King's chamber. The people advanced on tiptoe, their voices hushed to a whisper as they entered the splendid bedchamber, and glanced timidly on its tall mirrors, and velvet hangings. The Queen, standing by the pillow of her son, made a sign to the people to advance, indicating by placing her finger on her lip, that his Majesty slept. Louis's lieges gazed reverently on their King; his soft boyish cheek was flushed, and his long hair lay in disorder on the pillow, as if restless dreams had disturbed his slumber. Little did the people who passed softly and admiringly by, murmuring a thousand benedictions on the head of their innocent boy-king, dream of the petulant anger which shook the frame of Louis; and how tightly the closed eyelids, apparently so placid in slumber, imprisoned the burning tears of rage, and mortification. These scenes of violence, and outrage, imprinted in the heart of Louis Quatorze a hatred for Paris and its people, which no after-circumstances could control; and early in his reign he abjured a residence in a city so factious, and unruly. For more than an

hour Anne stood by her son, while the people defiled in respectful silence. When all had seen, gazed, and departed, still the Queen sat through the night until dawn by the pillow of her son, suspicious of the designs of Monsieur; and fearing that the *émeute* was but the prelude of their attempted separation. Trusting the people more than the perfidious courtiers, Anne asked two honest burghers of the guard to share her vigil. To these men she talked so affably, explaining her motives, and the oppression of the lords, that she gained two devoted adherents, who each went in turn throughout the night to the gate of the palace, to assure the vast crowds, which still filled the streets, that the King was asleep, and that her Majesty never had any intention of leaving the city. One of these persons told the Queen that his name was Laurier, and that he had been a lackey to one of her *maîtres d'hôtel*, which he seemed to think established a strong bond of affinity between himself, and the royal lady, whom he was now called upon to protect. "We listened admiringly to the cordiality with which the Queen and M. *de* Laurier—as her Majesty several times addressed him—conversed," writes Madame de Motteville. "M. *de* Laurier was quite subdued, and fascinated by her Majesty's condescension, and dexterities!"

The scene that night in the chamber of the young Louis Quatorze might be a subject meet for the painter's skill. The magnificent chamber; the beautiful sleeping boy-king; the majestic figure of Anne of Austria, sitting by her son's pillow; the sullen Villeroy, handsome and haughty, standing a few steps behind

her Majesty's chair; Madame de Motteville—who, worn out with terror and fatigue, had sunk down on the floor asleep, her head resting against the King's couch—Souvré, and Mademoiselle de Beaumont—who, tardily, had found courage to rejoin their royal mistress—whiling away the tedious hours by a game at piquet; the two *gardes bourgeoise* looking on in mingled curiosity and pride "at having been necessary to the comfort and security for three hours of the greatest Queen in the world," as these humble men afterwards expressed themselves. Daylight at length dawned: the people in the streets were peacefully dispersing—all danger seemed past. Anne, therefore, proposed that before retiring to take rest, all the personages present, including her strange companions, should adjourn to hear mass in her oratory. Afterwards, the Queen showed M. Laurier and his comrade, her precious reliquaries, and exquisite altar plate; finally, she presented to each her dainty hand to kiss, thanking them so touchingly, and adjuring them to bear testimony within their respective districts of the purity of her intentions, and of the gross outrage to which she had been subjected, that tears rained from their eyes, and they vowed to die in her service. "So this fearful night ended without catastrophe; the people, maddened with fury when they invaded the palace, left it as humble and loyal subjects, who asked God from their hearts to protect their young King, whose very aspect had charmed their senses. Our fears therefore subsided, through the protection of heaven, and

the high fortitude, and courage of our Queen." * Anne, however, suffered bitterly, when excitement, and action ceased. She spoke little, but sought retreat. "I wish it was always night; for, although I cannot sleep, silence and solitude console me; for, at least then, I do not see the treacherous faces of false friends! Ah! Madame de Motteville, where am I? Where should I not be better off? Can anyone be surprised that I pant to leave this city!"

The Coadjutor, meantime, had remained invisible throughout the storm which he had provoked. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 11th, he went again to the Luxembourg, to persuade Monsieur to take upon himself the responsibility of the assault on the Palais Royal, and the forcible detention of the King. Gondy acknowledges that never had he stood in greater peril; although he affirms that he was justified in the act, as the flight of the King would have entailed the ruin of the realm. He dreaded the censures of Molé, a magistrate so irreproachable, who, while he defended the rights of the people, bore deferential homage to the undoubted prerogative of the crown. Monsieur was completely ignorant of all that had passed; he had not seen M. Destouches, who had reported his interview with Anne of Austria to Madame, and had given strict commands that the privacy of his bedchamber should not be invaded by

* Mém. de Motteville; de Retz; de Montglât; de Talon; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Retz; Vie de Condé—Desormeaux; also Archives Curieuses; Registres du Parlement; Avis sur l'Émeute du 10 de Février; many MSS. in the Bibl. Impériale.

any one until after nine o'clock. Madame even dared not transgress this order. Gondy, therefore, had to bear his intolerable weight of responsibility until Monsieur chose to show himself. When that period arrived Monsieur seeing that all danger was over, expressed vivid indignation at the designs of the Queen; he declared that he never should have suspected her of such perfidy, but that he intended to remain master of the government, and would take upon himself the responsibility of the affair, and also order the immediate release of the princes. Monsieur then ordered the gates of the city to be seized, and guarded by the city levies; he, moreover, had the audacity, as lieutenant-general of the realm, to place M. Destouches on guard at the Palais Royal as a spy over the loyal-hearted Guitaut. He, moreover, sanctioned an order which virtually prevented the King from leaving the palace, except when escorted by himself—Monsieur protesting that he should be always at the service of his Majesty—though Louis, and his mother, as he well knew, would suffer total deprivation of liberty rather than ask his escort. The valiant bearing of Monsieur delighted the Coadjutor and his friends; the more especially, as he ordered his coach, and forthwith repaired to take his seat in the Chamber, thus bearing the whole brunt of the affair.

The events of the night evidently had produced a profound sensation: the members were silent and constrained, waiting for the appearance of M. d'Orléans to throw some light on the transaction. "Sorrow

shone in the eyes of M. Molé—the sorrow that moves; he sat judging various legal causes, his face wearing an absent expression." Monsieur was greeted by acclamations on his way to the Palais. On entering the Chamber, he made formal announcement that he had ordered a *lettre de cachet* to be issued for the immediate release of the princes; and that, in two hours' time, the despatch would be on its way to Hâvre. Not a word was said of the authority of the Regent: Monsieur simply declared "that, after conference with the Lord Keeper, *he had so ordered.*" Molé rose, and glancing at Monsieur, exclaimed, in a voice ringing with reproach, "M. le Prince, you say, is at liberty—but the King—the King our master, remains a prisoner!" "The King was a prisoner in the hands of Mazarin," responded Monsieur promptly; "but his Majesty is so no longer!" The duke then gave a summary of the events of the night, from the report of M. de Nemours, "delicately shaded; but sufficient as it seemed to excuse all that we had done." *

On the afternoon of the 11th, Anne sent for the provost of the Hôtel de Ville, to give renewed assurances that she had no intention to leave Paris; and to save, if possible, the honour of the crown, she sanctioned the order that the gates should be guarded by city soldiers, as Monsieur had previously ordained. "The dismay and confusion throughout that day and many following, cannot easily be described," relates M. de Montglât. "All coaches and chariots, and even coffers, were opened and searched at the barriers, to

* Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson; Mém. de M. de Montglât.

see whether the King was not concealed within: the people were so in earnest, that some courtiers, who wished to joke upon the matter, nearly lost their lives. The coach of the Duc d'Epernon was broken into a thousand fragments. Nevertheless, not to fail in outward respect to the King, a company of Swiss guards, and one of French guards, were allowed daily to parade the streets. The Duc de Beaufort kept vigilant guard nightly round the Palais Royal with his regiment of horse, passing and repassing the royal guards under Vannes, who asked the Queen whether he should charge them? Her Majesty replied, 'Shut your eyes, M. Vannes, we are not now the stronger!' All night long, therefore, horsemen were moving round the palace. Monsieur being one day informed that the Queen intended to escape by the river, ordered barges full of armed men to be moored at intervals from the Pont Neuf, to the Pont de Neuilly. The Queen was in despair and extreme wrath at finding herself besieged in her royal city, and palace."

On the 12th of February, M. de la Vrillière left Paris, apparently, without previous communication with Anne, for Hâvre de Grâce, to conduct the Princes to Paris.

CHAPTER VI.

1651.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA DURING THE EXILE OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MAZARIN was at Senlis when he heard of the catastrophy of the 10th of February, and of the semi-arrest* of Anne of Austria. His fortitude did not desert him under the bitter disappointment; and he resolved to make one resolute attempt to serve his royal mistress by taking possession of the stronghold of Hâvre de Grâce, and of the persons of its royal captives. The Cardinal accordingly set off without delay from Senlis and arrived at Hâvre at sunrise on the morning of the 13th of February. His motives for this expedition have been variously explained:—the true object, no doubt, was to seize Hâvre, and from thence to dictate terms to the capital. Once master of the person of Condé, powerful reinforcements of troops would have flocked round Hâvre. The army of Rhétal, obedient to the Cardinal's summons, would have approached Paris; and Anne of Austria, free from coercion, and aided by the panic, which doubtless would overpower

* The Attorney-General, Omer Talon, terms it "Liberâ Custodiâ."

the faculties of Monsieur, might have repaired to Rouen free, and absolute. It is certain that the Queen, during two days following the *émeute* on the night of the 10th February, expected such relief from her difficulties. The scheme, however, was defeated by the stubborn impracticability of M. du Bar, jailer of the princes, and commandant under the Duc de Richelieu, and Madame d'Aiguillon of the fortress. On sending the princes to Hâvre the Queen permitted this man to give a written promise to the duchess, to hold the fortress in her name and behalf; and not to admit, under any pretext, a garrison of royal soldiers, except the force requisite for the safe keeping of the prisoners. When Mazarin quitted Paris, Madame d'Aiguillon, fearing that the first move of the fugitive might be directed upon Hâvre, sent an express, to remind M. du Bar of his promise; adding to her despatch, a detail of the events in Paris, and her belief in the "*eternal overthrow*" of Mazarin. The Cardinal, therefore, in vain presented to M. du Bar her Majesty's mandate, commanding him "to admit M. le Cardinal Mazarin, and to execute punctually all his orders, despite of any counter orders which you may receive signed by the King my son, or by me!" Du Bar replied "that with regard to the prisoners he should execute the Queen's orders; but as for the fortress, he should maintain it according to his oath, for the Duchesse d'Aiguillon: that he could not, therefore, receive the troops of his Eminence, though he would allow the latter access to the captives, and to enter Hâvre accompanied by his personal attendants." No exception could be taken to this reply, which was

strictly in accordance with the Queen's previous, and friendly agreement with Madame d'Aiguillon. In vain Mazarin tried to cajole the stern old soldier; Du Bar making a multitude of excuses, declared that his honour was at stake, appealing to Mazarin whether he had not sanctioned such arrangement with the said lady duchess?* Time was stealing away, the anxiety of Mazarin became overpowering, and aware of the departure from Paris of la Rochefoucauld, la Vrillière, and Viole, to release the princes unconditionally, not a moment was to be wasted in vain expostulation. "Monsieur," said Mazarin, "what will be your course of action if I should order you, on the authority of the mandate you hold, to detain the prisoners, despite of any counter-order likely to arrive?" Du Bar evaded a direct reply, which Mazarin forbore to press. While the Cardinal was revolving the matter outside the gate of Hâvre, a courier arrived to announce that the Commissioners appointed to release the captives would arrive before nightfall; he also brought a letter from the Queen to the Cardinal, likewise one from Servien, under secretary of state. "Her Majesty," wrote the Cardinal, "implored me not to oppose any obstacles to the release of the prisoners, as her safety might be compromised." M. de Servien stated the same unwelcome fact in strong language; adding that the capital was in a state of anarchy, and that the liberty of MM. les Princes was vehemently insisted upon.* After such despatches there was nothing further to do outside the fortress, but to

* Lettre de M. de Mazarin à Michel le Tellier—de Hâvre, 1651, Février.

make the best terms possible. Mazarin avows that when he received these letters he was meditating the abduction of the prisoners, and their transport by sea to Dieppe: a scheme, which he gives us to understand, he relinquished only, despite of the appeal of the Queen, on hearing that the barons, and gentry of Normandy were advancing with their retinues on the news of the *coup d'état* in the capital, to congratulate the Prince on the termination of his captivity.* The Cardinal, therefore, resolved upon himself announcing to Condé his restoration to freedom; securing thereby the privilege, such as it was, of explaining the sudden revolution of affairs; the motives, which had originally occasioned his arrest, and the future pacific policy which the Queen intended to pursue. Humiliations and defections, however, now surrounded the Cardinal. Many of the chief personages of his escort took occasion to withdraw on his repulse from Hâvre; he had little money, no baggage, even his interest with the Queen was said to be gone; and that her Majesty intended to sacrifice him on the altar of her new alliance with the princes, whereby alone she could escape deposition, and perhaps captivity in the Val de Grâce! Intense was the surprise and embarrassment of Condé and his fellow captives when the door of their prison chamber opened, and M. du Bar ushered in the Cardinal; who,

* Lettre de M. de Mazarin à Michel le Tellier—de Hâvre, 1651, Février. "Je songeais après à me mettre dans un vaisseau et m'en aller avec eux à Dieppe, ou Le Plessis Bellière, eust entierement fait ce que j'eusse voulu; mais d'un côté il eut fallu 15 jours pour apprêter un vaisseau, et il y avait grande risque, parce que presque toute la noblesse de Normandie, etait à cheval pour venir au rencontre des Princes."

advancing, kissed the hand of his royal highness, and announced "that the Queen, in her gracious clemency, had been pleased to terminate the captivity of Messeigneurs." Ignorant of the great event, Condé knew enough of the Queen and Mazarin to be certain that some mystery lurked behind this *bienveillance*. Coldly, therefore, he received his visitor, and requested explanation, adding, "that he was happy to find that her Majesty now did him justice, and that he would serve her faithfully as he had always done." Condé then asked Mazarin to dine with him, and drank to his health. After the repast MM. de Conty and de Longueville, naturally anxious to test the wonderful news of their unexpected, and unconditional liberation, asked permission to go outside the fortress—a request instantly granted. The two princes, therefore, accompanied by the Marshal de Grammont, took a short walk in the town, and made preparation for immediate departure. Mazarin, meantime, "not being able to play the part of a minister, adopted that of a courtier," and asked audience of Condé. He then explained the political events of the last fortnight, the position of the Queen, and the unusual energy of Monsieur. He disculpated himself for the arrest of the princes, which he ascribed to the malice of La Fronde; and finally he asked the friendship of Condé, and solicited his protection. Condé listened disdainfully, and promised his future favour, but sat with immovable patience until summoned to join the other princes; who, eager to take advantage of the propitious moment, were about they said to leave Hâvre for Paris. Mazarin

kissed the hand of the Prince, who formally saluting his Eminence, said, with a laugh, "Adieu, M. le Cardinal!"* Leaving the once all-powerful minister standing lonely, heartstricken, beneath the portal of the fortress, the princes drove off, rejoicing, though scarcely able for the moment, to realise the fact of their sudden, and extraordinary deliverance. On the road, however, numerous bands of gentlemen saluted them: they travelled that night nine miles, and slept at the château de Grosménil, where they were joined by the Queen's commissioners, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and others; who gave them letters from Monsieur, and from Mathieu Molé.

On the 16th of February the princes arrived in Paris. Monsieur rode out to meet them as far as St. Denis. The princes then entered a state coach, accompanied by Monsieur, the Duc de Beaufort, the Coadjutor, and by the Marshals de la Mothe and de Grammont. Condé, beside himself with transport, thanked Monsieur with effusion; he embraced Gondy, and assured him of his friendship, and that he had forgotten all ancient feuds! Countless multitudes lined the road—*vivas* and acclamations attended their progress,—and the very people who thirteen months previously had lighted bonfires to celebrate their rrest, now joined in the rapturous reception. Condé

* Montglât, p. 281; Motteville, t. iv., p. 87; M. Guy Joly: Aubéry, Hist. du Card. Mazarin, t. ii.; Prioli Historia; Le glorieux retour à Paris des Princes de Condé, de Conty, et du Duc de Longueville (brochure) 1651. Vie de Condé, Archives Curieuses.

distributed money—his jewels, his watch—nothing was soon left but his sword—that sword, to find himself again "the master of," had filled his soul with unspeakable joy! A young officer, gazing wistfully, murmured,—"that the most precious of gifts would be that victorious sword!" Condé, overhearing the remark, drew it from its scabbard, and presenting it to the officer, exclaimed, "There it is then, Monsieur; may it win for you the bâton of a marshal of France!"*

The Queen, meanwhile, had spent the interval in almost unbroken solitude. Watched by the officers of her household, and abandoned by the great officers of the crown, her spirit was depressed, but not subdued. The Duc de Joyeuse, grand chamberlain, and the Marquis de Roquelaure, groom of the stole, had insolently declined to visit the Palais Royal, so long as Monsieur refused to bestow there the light of his presence. Villeroy kept vigilant guard over the person of the King. Monsieur had summoned him to the Luxembourg, and publicly intrusted to him that mission—"*Vous m'en repondrez*," said the duke. One evening Louis angrily ordered his governor to leave his presence, resenting this *surveillance*. His Majesty was too near his majority for the marshal to venture upon an open defiance. Suspecting, however, some manœuvre on the part of the Queen, he gave notice of the incident to M. de Beaufort, and sat up all night himself at the King's door, to watch the pro-

* Motteville, Vie de Condé, Desormeaux. Archives Curieuses.

ceedings of his Majesty! Villeroy being informed that the King intended "to lock him up some day in his apartments, while he escaped to St. Germain," was silly enough to believe the absurd story, and to guard against such a surprise, had the locks and bolts unscrewed, and taken from the doors of his apartments in the Palais Royal!* Monsieur, elate with his success, gave himself the airs of Regent; and was even insane enough to comment publicly on "the early days of the reign of the late King my lord, when M. de Richelieu was compelled to coerce the violent, and intriguing spirit of the Queen — an example which he had happily been able to imitate for the good of the realm." Monsieur, and his daughter Mademoiselle, paid a visit to her Majesty on the evening of the 15th, after the despatch of the order for the release of Condé. Anne received Monsieur's tardy visit with passive indifference; she scarcely raised her eyes, or spoke a word. "We also," relates Mademoiselle, "soon took our leave, as the company of a person into whose heart we know that we have just planted a dagger is not pleasant, or easy." Anne gave the same greeting to the liberated princes, when they were brought to her in triumph by Monsieur.† "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "was reposing on her bed when the princes

* Mém. de Montglât, p. 279; Omer Talon, t. ii.

† "La reine," writes M. Guy Patin, in his clever letters, "et MM. les Princes sont fort aheurtés l'un contre l'autre. Cette femme veut maintenir son autorité, et tâche de faire revenir le Mazarin, qui est pourtant une chose hors d'espérance. Elle a fort désiré que les gardes de la ville fussent otées; le Duc d'Orléans, ne le veut pas."—Lettre 245.

arrived. Having already complimented them, she spoke few words during this interview." Condé then repaired to the Luxembourg, where all the members of la Nouvelle Fronde waited his advent, with compliments, protestations, and joy. Madame la Palatine, the Duchesses de Chevreuse, and de Montbazon, were present: Mademoiselle also, who took opportunity to strike up a hollow friendship with Condé, to avenge herself for the slighting notice of Anne of Austria; Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, beautiful and bold, was then ceremoniously introduced to her *fiancé*, M. de Conty, who, however, longed to repose, and solace himself at Sténay, with his sister, Madame de Longueville; Gondy, graceful, plausible, and gallant, was also there; De Grammont, a friend of Condé, but yet a time-server; and Madame, complacent, and good-humoured, accepted the homage of the princes as if, already, she sat in the chair of Anne of Austria. Molé, sad and careworn, congratulated Condé, mourning, "that the triumph of right should have been purchased by the humiliation of the crown." The Duchesse de Aiguillon, a prude, and affected, walked about thanking Heaven "that the realm was now at last delivered from foreigners, and Mazarins;" and pitying the fallen, and helpless position of the Queen. In the private recesses of the Luxembourg, evil words, and evil enterprises were doubtless concerted at this period against the honour, and liberty of the Queen. Gondy dared to propose that Monsieur, and his cousin Condé should be proclaimed joint Regents of the realm. The fear of Anne of Austria, happily, was deeply imprinted on the

coward heart of Monsieur: he had timely remembrance that the majority was approaching—that the King resembled not other boys of thirteen—that his Majesty already showed great insubordination to control—that his love for his mother was devoted; and although he could not fluently construe Latin, he ever remembered that he was a King. Moreover, the Catholic King was reported to be still mourning over the alienation of his once beloved sister; and it was believed that any personal outrage to the Regent, would result in the armies of Spain being placed at Anne's disposal.

Mazarin, meantime, turned with a melancholy sigh from the portcullis of the fortress of Hâvre, from whence Condé and his brothers had departed for Paris. It was a cold shivering February eve, and the fallen minister, quitting the citadel, repaired to a small hostelry on the beach, from whence if danger ensued he might escape by sea. Comfort, however, came speedily to solace his regrets. The under-secretary of state Lyonne accompanied the Duc de la Rochefoucauld and the other envoys, bearing private letters from the Queen to the Cardinal; also verbal instructions. Leaving his companions at Grosménil, Lyonne continued his journey to Hâvre. The heart of Mazarin bounded with exultation when he heard the messages of the imprisoned Queen, and read her letters. Anne vowed to him undeviating fidelity, and in the name of the King promised his recall whenever Providence re-established the royal authority. She engaged to bestow no grace or benefit without his previous approbation; and to consult him, and to render him the

arbiter of the destiny of his enemies in his abode of exile, as if he still dwelt under the roof of the Palais Royal! Anne also sent him money; she undertook to protect his nieces, and nephew; and promised that they should be escorted honourably to rejoin him. She spoke with the greatest scorn of Monsieur; and exhorted Mazarin patiently to await the overthrow of their enemies; that she would achieve that triumph, and eventually avenge herself, and him.

Consoled and inspirited, Mazarin the next morning quitted Hâvre, escorted by a hundred horsemen. The governor of Abbeville refused to admit him into the town—he was, however, received in Dourlens, where he spent a few days, and from whence he published several manifestoes; and despatched letters to the Queen, to the Privy Council, to the Parliament, to the municipality of Paris, and to the Duc d'Orléans. These documents are masterpieces of terse composition, subtle, and telling. To the Queen, Mazarin offered unbounded submission; the Privy Council he warned to abate in its malicious enemity, "as I hold in my hands the secrets of state, and your policy. I could betray such, and confute your schemes. I, however, shall refrain." To the loyal municipality his retrospect of services is affecting, and his phrases skilfully applied. Monsieur he boldly challenges to prove one of the odious charges preferred.* These letters renewed the panic in Paris—all his foes, save perhaps the Coadjutor, Condé, and M. de Molé,

* Bibl. Imp.—Bibl. Lancelot; MS. Dupuy, vol. cot., No. 754; Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin, liv. 5.

cowered under the strokes of Mazarin's genius and resources; and clamoured for his departure from the realm as their sole safeguard against his machinations. From Dourlens Mazarin proceeded to Sédan, where he was received by Fabert, Marquis d'Esternay, with such zeal and devotion, that the Cardinal never forgot the service. From Sédan, Mazarin wrote to the Queen to send off his nieces; as he conceived that their safety was endangered by a longer sojourn in Paris. The abbé Ondedei conducted the ladies* to Madame d'Hocquincourt, who herself escorted them to Sédan, where they remained in safety, until they rejoined their uncle at the castle of Bruhl—which residence was placed at the Cardinal's service by the Elector of Cologne.

When all the festivities, and congratulations relative to the return of Condé were over, the great factions again stood face to face. Condé was pledged to work for the interests of the coalition by which he had been so triumphantly rescued from captivity. The conditions of the treaty negotiated by the Palatine between the old, and the new Fronde were fourfold:—a cardinal's hat for Gondy—this the Princess Palatine had pledged herself to obtain through the good offices of her sister Louisa, Queen of Poland; the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse with the Prince de

* All kinds of indecent satires were composed to celebrate the flight of these fair young girls. In these verses they were termed "Sœurs de Méduse," and told "vous vouliez epouser des princes, vos conditions sont trop ruinées;" instead, they were exhorted, "à epouser quelque valet d'écurie, ou ramoneur, ou savetier;" and then—"allez manger vos ognons, pour vous dégraisser les rognons!"

Conty; the betrothal of the little Duc d'Enghien with the infant Mademoiselle de Valois, daughter of Monsieur: and the sum of 100,000 crowns for the Duchesse de Montbazon, a bribe to ensure the faithful adherence of M. de Beaufort to the faction—and for such sum, the Princess Palatine had felt sanguine enough to give a note of hand to the duchess. Such were the articles greedily laid before M. le Prince, and to which his confirmation was requested.

Meantime, at the great Franciscan monastery eight hundred nobles daily met, "to discuss their rights, the disorders of the realm, the oppressions daily meted to all classes, and the derogatory claims and pretensions of the Parliament of Paris." The assemblage of the States General was clamorously demanded, to redress countless grievances; and to pronounce upon the proper, and legitimate functions of the High Court, and the prerogatives of the King. Condé, in return for the support given him by the nobles of the realm during his captivity, was challenged to lend the great influence of his name, and his sword to this assembly. The Prince, likewise appealed to by Molé, and the Chamber, which claimed the sole merit of his release—knew not what to reply; and gave mortal, and indelible offence, by declaring an impartial neutrality, and referring the decision in matters addressed to him, to Monsieur.

The Chamber, conscious that it had exceeded its functions, and that the assembly of the States General would probably prune away its pretensions, tried to enlist the support of the court. Anne, passive and

sullen, declined to advise, to promise, or to act. She said that the majority of the King was approaching; therefore, no further promise, or recompense did she intend to bestow, in order that his Majesty might have bountiful graces to distribute to all faithful servants. Condé writhed at this declaration; intrigue had restored him to freedom; but the Queen's grace could only give back the rich governments, and the lucrative offices forfeited on his arrest. Dazzled by his sudden liberation, and too haughty to acknowledge his obligation to the coalition which had exiled Mazarin, he loftily disregarded the pretensions of his friends, and murmured at the articles which the Palatine had accepted in his name. The very thought of the marriage of Conty, with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the paramour of Gondy, the rejected of the Duc de Richelieu, fired his temper. As for the pecuniary recompense due to Madame de Montbazon, the Prince wholly disregarded it, despite the remonstrances of the Palatine.

Throughout the month of March, the Queen remained a virtual prisoner at the Palais Royal; the gates of the capital being still guarded by soldiers *de la garde bourgeoise*. The contention between the Parliament, and the Assembly of Nobles continued during this interval: the latter refusing to separate until the Queen had issued a royal Declaration, promising that the States General should be convoked before the end of the year, to judge all the matters in dispute. The Parliament issued thundering decrees against the rival assembly; which was responded to by

the sudden junction of the clergy with the nobles—the former then holding synod on ecclesiastical matters only, in the monastery of the *Augustinians*. A proposition was thereupon made in the Chamber to exclude all cardinals from holding office under government, which was carried with applause; and a deputation was nominated to present the edict to the Queen, and request its ratification. It was sweet revenge to the Queen, this proposed exclusion of all cardinals from share in the government; and that Gondy's future aspirations should be thus drowned by the democrats whom he fostered. Anne returned a favourable reply, but exhorted to peace and conciliation. Two days subsequently, a deputation of four archbishops, thirty bishops, and a swarm of ecclesiastics of minor degree, waited on the Queen to remonstrate on the injustice of excluding from ministerial office, an order in the realm which was most distinguished for learning and ability. Anne shortly replied, "That having been petitioned by the High Court, and having become wise by past experience, she did not find herself in a condition to refuse." The animosity between the lords and the members of the Parliament, therefore, increased to a degree which endangered the peace of the capital; and Anne found herself compelled to promise the convocation of the States General at Tours, on the 7th day of the following month of September. In vain was she urged to summon the States to meet, if only two days before the proclamation of the majority of the King.* Inspired

* "La reine promit une assemblée d'États à Tours le mois de Septembre prochain. Le Duc d'Orléans lui replique qu'elle promet une chose qu'elle ne

by her absent minister, Anne detected the subtle plan of Monsieur, who by petition to the States, intended to obtain a prolongation of the Regency, in order the better to exclude Mazarin, and to consolidate his own power. She therefore firmly adhered to her decision; adding, that in a matter of such importance as the convocation of the States General, the pleasure of the sovereign, then so near his majority, ought to be taken.

The Queen during these animosities was fast recovering her power; each party had appealed to the crown, and sought strength in its support. Nothing could be more dexterous than Anne's conduct: she temporised, till opportunity dawned when she arose, and again firmly seized the sceptre so nearly wrested from her grasp. Her communications with Bruhl were constant. The Cardinal's emissaries, Navailles, Fouquet, Brachat, and Bertaut, were perpetually *en route*. Mazarin wrote in a cipher most puzzling to unravel. The Queen, in this difficult correspondence, or the small portion of it now in existence, is designated by the names of Sérafin, and Zabaot; and by the numbers 26, and 22. The King is mentioned by the term Le Confident. The style of these letters is obscure; political allusions are carefully veiled, and treated in short terse phrases. The Cardinal also often wrote to Lyonne, who, however, soon incurred his ill-will and direst suspicion; to Le Tellier, whom

pourra tenir, vu qu'en ce temps là elle ne sera plus Régente, ce qui est vrai: mais c'est qu'elle espère d'avoir encore beaucoup de crédit auprès du roi dans sa majorité; et ce sera alors que nos princes seront obligés de bien prendre leur mesures pour leur conservation."—Lettre 245, M. Guy Patin.

he terms weak, yet faithful; and to Servien, who is designated as lukewarm. The Queen is exhorted to entrap Condé into negotiations likely to ruin him with his party; and the prince is represented as the chief obstacle to the Cardinal's return, and to Anne's felicity. The paragraphs personal to the Queen and to Mazarin in these singular epistles, are tender, but high flown, and sentimental. It must be remembered that these letters were not only private in their purport, and privately received, but the leading words themselves are enveloped in a cipher so obscure as only to have yielded, as it is believed, to modern skill, perseverance, and research. If the surmise is true, that Mazarin was the wedded husband of Anne of Austria, surely in these letters, written in secret cipher, some trace of intimate union, and joint interest—some betraying word or endearment would appear; and that the Cardinal might be expected to write to a wife, though a Queen, in other language than the sentimenal rhodomontade of the school of which Mademoiselle de Scudéry was then the leader, and exponent. In these letters there is nothing earnest and tangible; Mazarin's expressions are vague, doubtful—not those of a man united in wedlock to a woman, although of queenly rank. He flatters, soothes, and conciliates: he appeals to Anne's vanity, and bespeaks her pity and sympathy. During the early part of the month of May, Mazarin writes thus to his royal patroness:—"Mon Dieu! how thankful should I be if you could read my heart! Then, indeed, would you be convinced that never friendship equalled the friendship that I bear you!

I will even go so far as to assert, that all delight and pleasure leaves me, when I employ my time in other pursuits than in dreaming of you! Neither can I express to you the hate I bear to all those foes who try to drive me from your mind, and exhort you to forget me—and this hate rises in proportion to the affection which I bear you. I believe that your friendship is beyond shortcoming; and such as you tell me. Mine for you, however, appears to me finer, and truer; inasmuch as, every moment I reproach myself for not giving you signal proof of it; which raises in my mind strange desires, and bold measures to obtain sight of you. If my dread of compromising you did not restrain me, I would hazard a thousand lives to see you. I cannot answer much longer for myself, unless I speedily descry remedy; for such attachment as I bear you, scorns prudence. I may be wrong and unjust, and I ask pardon—nevertheless, I believe were I in your place I should devise means, and have made some path by which we could meet. Let me know, whether I shall ever see you again, and when. I could love the greatest enemy I possess, and with all my heart, if he would contrive a way, by which I could once more see Sérafin."* Very different to this stilted, and *empouillé* style is the language of the great minister, and keen politician on affairs; and the masterly manner in which he

* Mazarin à la Reine.—Lettres de Mazarin à la Reine, et à la Princesse Palatine écrits pendant sa retraite hors de France, en 1651-1652, MS. Bibl. Imp., F. de Baluze, published by M. Ravenel. Lettre 3, Bruhl, Mai 11, 1651. Lettre 1—Mazarin says that Gondy frequently said, "si M. de Beaufort est Fairfax, je suis Cromwell!"

gives summary of the mental calibre, and designs of the persons around his royal mistress, on whom his own fate somewhat depended. Of the Coadjutor Mazarin had the worst opinion: he describes him, as a man full of vices, deceits, and crime; a hypocrite from the cradle; a Machiavel, keen, unprincipled, but docile before his vanity, and self-interest. He advises the Queen, nevertheless, to make a friend of the Coadjutor, even to the semblance of sacrificing himself, as her only foil to the arbitrary ambition of Condé, and the culpable weaknesses of Monsieur.

Condé, meanwhile, soon tired of the vagaries of the Duke of Orleans, and the familiarities of his new friends of La Fronde. He sighed for reconciliation with the Queen, and for restoration to his rank, and privileges. Four weeks, therefore, had not elapsed ere Condé was engaged in secret overtures for accommodation with the court, through the secretary of state, Lyonne. The position of the Prince was painful. Already alienated from the parliament for its severe strictures on his ingratitude during the conflict of the Chamber, with the Assembly of Nobles;—at variance with the latter for its reproaches on his affected neutrality—and almost at open issue with the Duchesse de Chevreuse and the Coadjutor, and his party, for his lukewarm adherence to the treaty negotiated by the Palatine—reconciliation with the court had become desirable to the Prince. He first laid down as its basis—the continued exile of Mazarin; the presence of the King in Paris; and that the Queen should give him a signal mark of friendship

by removing Châteauneuf from her counsels. Anne readily agreed, provided that Monsieur was excluded from all knowledge of the transaction; and that the Prince would assure her of his co-operation in any sudden measures which she might see fit to adopt. No relenting in favour of Condé, however, moved Anne's inexorable spirit; her late humiliations, and the banishment of her minister, had been achieved under the name of Condé, and by the busy intrigues of his partisans. She therefore lured him to reconciliation to destroy him more utterly, and perfectly. That the risk was great, and the issue uncertain, no one knew better than the Queen herself. Lyonne accordingly, by her express order, gave the utmost latitude possible to the demands of the Prince; and dilated in terms likely to incense and disgust him, on the degradation of an alliance between his brother, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. He cleverly expressed Anne's sympathy with his own unfortunate alliance with Richelieu's niece, whom the Queen allowed, she never could bring herself to regard as a princess of the blood; and administered hints, that that marriage might not be so indissoluble as Condé supposed. This was as seizing the Prince in the stronghold of his ungratified aspirations; for Condé loathed his plain, and comparatively plebeian, but heroic wife. The utmost mystery and silence, especially towards Monsieur, was observed respecting this *rapprochement* of the Prince, and the Queen; for several weeks it was not even surmised. At length it was agreed, though the terms were yet to remain unratified for an interval, by the high contracting

parties—that as the price of the adherence of M. le Prince to the cause, and wishes of the Queen, that he should be restored to the enjoyment of all his offices and governments; that the Queen would pay up all arrears of pensions owing to his regiments; and sanction the enrolling again of the regiments, respectively commanded by the young Duc d'Enghien, the Prince de Conty, and the Duc de Longueville, which had been broken and dispersed at the period of the arrest of MM. les Princes; that the government of Provence should be given to M. de Conty; that of Auvergne to the Duc de Nemours; the stronghold of Blaye to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld; those of Guyenne and Bourgogne to M. le Prince himself; and the government of Normandy to the Duc de Longueville. Such a treaty was, "as the cession of half the kingdom to Condé"—but the blind ambition and vanity of the Prince deluded him into a belief that the Queen acted in good faith. Perhaps some such thought prompted him to visit the Queen, and skilfully to add, "that when the above articles had been faithfully and literally executed, he should no longer oppose the return of M. le Cardinal." In pledge of mutual sincerity, it was further agreed, that Anne should give the Prince the satisfaction of dismissing the Lord Keeper Châteauneuf, and of recalling Chavigny; while Condé undertook to break off the marriage negotiated between his brother, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse,—the Queen violently repeating, that she would never grant to a "*demoiselle si décriée*" the honours of a princess of the blood.

By the 3rd of April, 1661, the Queen had recovered sufficient spirit, and authority to carry out the project so secretly concerted. Monsieur lived in a paradise of self-complacent satisfaction at his past achievements; believing that he had for ever crushed the hydra-headed monster, Mazarin,—and secured the eternal gratitude of M. de Condé. Unbounded, therefore, was his dismay on being apprised that the Queen had sent for M. de Chavigny, and intended to restore him to his place at the council-board, without even apprising him of such resolution. On the 2nd of April, Anne saw Chavigny in her oratory; she greeted him as an old friend whose valuable services she had been taught to appreciate by the eloquent advice of M. le Prince; and on the morrow, she promised to hold council, and introduce him with all due formalities. The subject before council on that eventful morning was the sealing with the great seal, the Declaration which excluded cardinals from office in the realm. Châteauneuf violently opposed the measure as unjust: the Queen, supported by Chavigny, insisted on its expediency; adding, that President Molé, and a deputation, were to visit her on the subject that very evening, and she therefore desired to announce her ratification of the act. Pending this discussion, M. d'Orléans, and M. de Condé entered the chamber. The latter smilingly advanced to the table; but Monsieur, aghast at the sight of Chavigny, commenced an attack on the Queen, and, with his usual impulse, loudly expressing his amazement, that she should have ventured to recall a minister without previously con-

sulting him. Anne fixed her eyes sternly on the face of Monsieur, and replied: "You have been pleased, Monseigneur, on several recent occasions to act without reference to my wishes; you cannot, therefore, be surprised if I now and then take to myself the same privilege." Monsieur coloured; and looking at the Prince, murmured, "that he had been compelled so to act in self-defence; her Majesty having sent MM. les Princes to Hâvre without deigning to consult his wishes." Anne took no notice of this reply; but, rising, ordered Châteauneuf to affix the seal to the Declaration against the cardinals, and swept from the room. Anne then retired to her oratory, confiding to no one her intentions. Two hours later, the under secretary of state was summoned, and ordered by the Queen to visit M. de Châteauneuf, and to request the return of the Great Seal. In transports of indignation and grief, Châteauneuf received this message, to which was appended an order to retire from Paris to Montrouge. At first Châteauneuf meditated resistance, and an appeal to his unalterable friend Madame de Chevreuse, whose downfall he foresaw was comprised in his own exile. The protection of Monsieur, and flight to the Luxembourg with the seals of office, next flashed through his brain—but Monsieur was not a prince of resource, or a palladium in moments of peril. At length, with tears of mortification and rage, the veteran minister gave up the precious velvet bag to La Vrillière, who carried it to Anne of Austria. The Queen placed the seals on the altar in her oratory, and sent for the first President,

Molé, who waited her pleasure in the palace, on behalf of the Chamber. Anne then informed the astonished magistrate that she intended bestowing upon him the Great Seal: that she appreciated his virtues and fidelity to the crown; that her choice was a further proof to the High Court that she intended to maintain the Declaration of October, 1648; that it was her further will to recall the Chancellor Séguier to her counsels, but without settled functions; that Molé would bear the title of Lord Keeper; but that precedence must be yielded by him to Séguier, on account of the latter's years, and seniority of office.* Molé accepted her Majesty's conditions; and thanked her humbly for the honour and recognition which she had bestowed upon his poor services. Anne remarked, that M. le Premier President could still hold his present dignity, with his magisterial honours; and she trusted that by the appointments which she had made, the restoration of M. de Chavigny, and the nomination of M. le President as Lord Keeper, the public would admit that she was not so monopolised with M. le Cardinal, as to sacrifice for him the welfare of the realm!

Dismissing Molé well satisfied, Anne sent for the Duc de Sully, and commanded him to set out, and request, in her name, the return to court of the Chancellor Séguier, his father-in-law. M. la Tivollière, a lieutenant of the body-guard, was finally sent by the Queen to the Luxembourg, at midnight, to inform the Duke of Orleans of the high regal acts she had accomplished.

* Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson; Mém. de Guy Joly, De Retz, De Talon Hist. du Card. de Mazarin, Aubéry, liv. v.

The news spread like wildfire over the capital: people barricaded their houses, and prepared for street fights. Madame de Longueville, just returned to her old haunts in Paris, ignorant that her brother, Condé, was now a partisan and upholder of the actions of the Queen, was so alarmed for the consequences of what appeared to her, "an open defiance of the Prince," that she sat up all night in terror, expecting to behold Paris *en feu et flamme*. Gondy, panting with rage and excitement at the Declaration issued against the cardinals of the realm, and at the elevation of Molé, whom he hated and feared, was at the Luxembourg by dawn. There he met Madame de Chevreuse, flaming with indignation at the dismissal of her friend Châteauneuf—Condé, his brother Conty, the Ducs de Némours, de la Rochefoucauld, de Beaufort, de Brissac, MM. de Montrésor, de Vitry, and others. Monsieur was greatly irritated, and asked counsel of his friends. Montrésor advised that the duke, in his capacity of Lieutenant-General, should send and demand back the Great Seal from Molé. The Coadjutor improved upon this counsel, and exhorted Monsieur to send his captain of the guard to bring back forcibly the Seal, and to reinstate Châteauneuf; to arrest the Queen; and to cause her deposition by decree of the Parliament—that M. de Beaufort and himself were ready to rouse the people to arms, if requisite. Gondy's eloquence was here interrupted by M. de Beaufort—"Speak for yourself, if you please, Monsieur; when my turn comes I shall opine. Why, therefore, refer to me?" This rebuff from his hitherto

docile ally opened the eyes of the acute Coadjutor: he began to suspect. "Before," says he, "there never had been between us a shadow of dissension, or the semblance of suspicion." Monsieur, uneasy, and in a fright lest such discourse might be wafted to the ears of Anne of Austria, appealed to Condé, whom—as being equally aggrieved with himself, and the hero of the hour—he expected would declaim with vigour. The Coadjutor fixed his eyes on the Prince, and prepared to read him, his motives and sentiments, through and through. Condé assumed an air of jocularity—made light "of the Queen's sudden scud of passion"—and agreed with the Duc de Beaufort, when the latter interposed by saying, "that probably the lives of MM. de Chavigny and de Molé, might be sacrificed by a popular outbreak, and that nothing could be more out of season." "Besides," added Condé, contemptuously glancing at the Coadjutor, "I confess myself a coward in back-alley and slop-pail warfare; nevertheless, if Monsieur commands, I am ready to take to horse, and raise levies in Burgundy for his service." The duke, completely intimidated by this tone, said little more; and after a further desultory debate, the Prince left the Luxembourg, and all intention of resisting Anne's late measures by arms, was abandoned. The next day Condé performed his part of the compact. Madame and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse were together at their hôtel conversing with the Coadjutor, when the President de Viole entered the apartment, announcing that he visited the duchess on behalf of her Majesty, and of M. le Prince de Condé. Viole then paused,

hesitated, coughed, began again to speak, and stopped abruptly. At length he managed to make Madame de Chevreuse comprehend that M. de Condé, with the sanction and approval of the Queen, forbad the marriage of her daughter with Monseigneur de Conty. The President further stated, that the Duchesse de Longueville and M. de Conty had charged him to express their excuses; but to add their approval of the rupture of a treaty concluded by the Princess Palatine, which had been totally unauthorised by any member of the royal family. Having completed his errand, Viole, bitterly ashamed of being the hero of so ungallant a mission, made his escape before the duchess recovered breath to make response. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, however, laughed, made contemptuous signs to Gondy, and curtseyed profoundly to the unlucky envoy as he made good his retreat.* A similar mortification awaited the Coadjutor. The Palatine, with much confusion, and shedding tears of passionate sorrow at the manner in which the conditions were evaded, which she had guaranteed to procure the liberty of the ungrateful Condé, informed Gondy—that the Queen of Poland, out of deference to her early friend, and patroness Queen Anne, declined to confer the nomination to a cardinalate appertaining to the Polish crown on a French subject, unless requested to do so by her Majesty. So keenly did the Princess Palatine feel her position, and the slight she had received from the Condé family, that she shortly made overtures for a sincere reconciliation with the Queen; and even wrote

* Mém. de Retz, vol. ii.

to Mazarin at Brühl offering her friendship, and reminding him of the efforts which she had made in concert with M. de la Rochefoucauld, to induce him to consent to the release of Condé. The Cardinal had the highest opinion of the intellect and ability of Madame Palatine: he joyfully, therefore, closed with her offer; promised her the confidence of the Queen, and, if ever he returned to France, the office of mistress of the robes to her Majesty, a position at court which the princess had long coveted.*

Monsieur, finding no better resource, sulked, and refused to attend council, or to see the Queen, and passed his time in conferences with the Coadjutor. The Prince de Condé, perplexed and annoyed at his sudden unpopularity, was heard to lament the hardship of owing obligations to greedy partisans; adding, that he envied M. de Beaufort, whose servants alone had aided in his escape from Vincennes. The Queen's friendship also seemed to cool in an inexplicable manner, at the very time he had made most sacrifices to propitiate her favour. Had the Prince then comprehended the subtle malice with which Anne of Austria, regarding him as an embodiment of hostile hate against Mazarin, first alienated him from his friends, and then intended to goad him to self-destruction, a timely retreat might yet have thwarted her vengeance. The proposed treaty with Condé had been dutifully forwarded to Brühl by M. de Lyonne, who stated that the Queen contemplated its due execution. Mazarin instantly wrote a

* Mém. de Retz, vol. ii.; Brigues pour le Gouvernement, Suppl. F, 300.

forcible, and utter protest against the magnitude of the concession tendered; and honourably declined to abet such, as the price of his return to power. "Madame, if you concede such to M. le Prince, you have nothing further to do but to conduct him to Rheims, and place the crown on his brow. You know that the most bitter enemy I possess in the world is the Coadjutor: use him—rather than give M. le Prince that which he demands! Give M. de Gondy the cardinalate; give him even my apartments, if requisite, at the Palais Royal! He will perhaps be more devoted to Monsieur than to yourself; but Monsieur does not desire the ruin of the realm. Madame, I beseech, I implore you, resist such dishonourable, such preposterous demands. Nevertheless, do not alienate at once M. le Prince by a sudden withdrawal of your favour. Continue the negotiation; separate the Prince from the chieftains of La Fronde. For myself, I would rather remain for ever in exile, than return on such precarious conditions."* Anne, who had never intended to sanction this treaty, punctually followed the instructions of her minister; who also wrote in great wrath to Lyonne, charging him with lukewarm neglect, and interest for M. le Prince, in not having manœuvred so as to keep the pretensions of his royal highness within bounds. Chavigny, meanwhile, through the good offices of Condé, made his peace with Monsieur, and consequently advised the Queen to heal the duke's wounded feelings by sacrificing the new Lord Keeper, Molé.

* Mémoire adressé à la Reyne, suite du lettre du 12 Mai, 1651. Lettres de Mazarin, edited by M. de Ravenel, p. 38.

In Anne's deep calculations the project of alienating Monsieur from the Prince, whom she had doomed to destruction, held an important place. Could she only tide over the intervening months before the proclamation of the majority of her son, victory would be her own! Moreover, the Princess Palatine had privately informed the Queen, that Monsieur, being totally swayed by the Coadjutor, was now anxious for reconciliation, "not being able to understand the dubious course of M. le Prince." Gondy himself, descrying a snare, yet ignorant where the trap might lie, had astonished the capital by a second timely but sudden retreat from politics back to the sober round of ecclesiastical duty. "I explained to Monsieur," writes this wonderful, and most plausible of men, "that I had had the satisfaction of serving him in two notable affairs—the exile of Mazarin, and the release of M. le Prince—that now I felt impelled to retire to the practice of my sacred calling." He, however, hinted to Monsieur his suspicions that Condé was negotiating with the court; and he advised him, as a parting counsel, to make friends, if possible, with the Queen—to wait, to watch, and to profit by every opportunity. Gondy also indignantly commented on the baseness of Condé's ingratitude to the friends who had released him from captivity; predicting that retribution would follow such flagrant deception. Monsieur, much disturbed by the uncomfortable assertions of his friend, entered forthwith into a kind of negotiation with the court, through the Princesse Palatine; who, having been the first person to make open recantation of the errors

of La Nouvelle Fronde, enjoyed some influence. A compromise was at length arranged, by which Monsieur resumed his visits to the Palais Royal, and withdrew his *bourgeois* guard from the gates of the city, provided that her Majesty consented to deprive Molé of the Great Seal. Anne therefore sent for Molé, explained to him the opposition of Monsieur, adding, that to her very great regret she was compelled by circumstances to require his resignation of office. Molé patriotically handed to her Majesty the key which locked up his precious badge of office, and which he wore suspended from his neck. Anne thanked Molé, and assured him that one day he should be re-established in office; for that she never forgot an injury inflicted, or an act of loyalty rendered.*

Mazarin, meantime, highly disapproved Anne's concession in regard to Molé. He writes: "It is not to be believed the damage which the Queen has inflicted on her cause by the sacrifice of the first President. If her Majesty had been firm and resolute the said President, supported by the Chamber, would have restrained all malcontents. This is the true reason why the Queen has been importuned to depose him. His royal highness eventually must have consented to the appointment, considering his isolated position."† Mazarin renders justice to the firmness, zeal, and enlightened conduct of "Zabaot,"

* Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson. Molé refused all present compensation —the Queen having offered to make his son, M. de Champlâtreux, a fifth secretary of state, or to present him with 100,000 crowns, or to nominate the President as future Cardinal.

† Lettre 4, p. 48, Ravenel.

"who in the short space of two months, had managed to isolate Monsieur; to detach Condé; to send back Gondy to his episcopal functions; and to set all the fair, but furious heroines of La Fronde by the ears!"

The Cardinal's life at Brühl was outwardly peaceful, though his letters prove, with their dark allusions and fretful irritability, how exile, and solitude, and poverty, preyed upon his spirit. The château of Brühl was a commodious abode; but the splendour in which Mazarin revelled, and which had become familiar to the beautiful girls his nieces, was wanting. Indeed, the want of money was often severely felt by the Cardinal, and his household. Mazarin's whole existence, however, was concentrated on French politics; and in watching the dexterous conduct of his pupil, Queen Anne. Their communication was constant. Couriers were always traversing the road between Paris, and Germany. His chief occupation consisted in reading Anne's letters, in preparing an analysis of the policy advisable to be pursued, and in angry fulminations at the indolence, over-zeal, or treachery, of the under-secretaries of state. "Ah, I would give my life to see you again!" wrote Mazarin in June, 1651,* to the Queen: "tell me when such felicity is possible, and persuade the King to do so also. If you could only understand the relief I should experience, you would not hesitate. My greatest joy is to read the letters of a certain Spanish woman well known to you. In my esteem, these letters surpass those of Balzac, or

* Lettres de Mazarin à la Reine et à la Princesse Palatine: Ravenel, p. 36.

Voiture: at any rate, they interest me more, which you will readily believe as you have perused them before myself." In another letter the Cardinal wrote: "You are surrounded, madame, by persons who counsel you for their own interests, therefore you ought to apply yourself diligently to affairs. Say to M. Lyonne that the day upon which the Cardinal returns you make him a secretary of state." To this letter a long memorial on state affairs is appended. He warns her Majesty to appear to yield everything, but to concede nothing to Condé: he tells her that Queen Christina of Sweden had declared that his (Mazarin's) cause is the cause of all kings; and that she ought to make extraordinary efforts to obtain his recal during her Regency.* "Your Majesty must not have any scruple in making up differences with persons whom you have cause to hate and to ruin; all kings, even the wisest of princes, have done this thousands of times." In another letter, written about the same time, the Cardinal confesses his disquietude respecting the rumours which reach him relative to her condescensions to M. Lyonne. He says, "If you could see the disquiet into which little things plunge me, you would pity me. For example, I hear that you asked Lyonne why he did not occupy my apartments, as he so often got wet to the skin on leaving the Palais Royal, for his own lodgings? It made me lose my sleep for two nights; and similar reports, if continued, will be the death of me! I protest, that if I could believe that you felt esteem, or

* Lettres de Mazarin à la Reine et à la Princesse Palatine: Ravenel, p. 50.

sympathy for that confounded rascal, who betrays me continually, life would not be worth keeping." *

The replies sent by the Queen to these letters exist not: the earliest letters now extant addressed by Anne of Austria to Mazarin, date from the end of the year 1652. The Queen therein constantly uses the word "*amitié*"; often regrets the absence of the Cardinal, who was then again at the head of the armies of the realm; and states, that she is weary of solitude during his absence with the King. In one of these letters she tells him that the King does not often write to him because, like as there is little difference between his Majesty's handwriting and her own, their sentiments towards the Cardinal are the same—one hand addresses him, and one heart is attached to him. Even the "celebrated letter," dated Saintes, June 30th, 1660, goes little further in warmth of expression, or sentiments; and although this epistle is not comprehended within the period treated of in this work, the Regency of Anne of Austria, yet as the year 1651 was probably the most anxious episode in the life of the Queen, this letter, as throwing some light upon her position with Mazarin, may be interesting: "Your letter," writes the Queen, "has given me great joy. I do not know whether I shall be fortunate enough to inspire you with this belief, but had I the least idea that my letters could so greatly please you, I would willingly have written more; it is true, however, that the joy which I myself

* Lettres de Mazarin à la Reine et à la Princesse Palatine: Ravenel, p. 165. "Croyez moi," writes Mazarin, p. 35, "que depuis Adam on n'a jamais tant manqué à personne comme à moi!"

witnessed once, while I saw you read my letters, reminded me of another time, of which I carry constant memory. However you might doubt, I certify to you that all my life shall be employed to testify to you that there never has been a friendship more true than my own; and if you believe this not, a day will come, upon which you will repent your slow belief. If I could show you my heart, as plainly as you will read these words, you would be the most ungrateful man in the world, did you not believe. The Queen (Marie Thérèse),* who is writing at my table, desires me to say that the news you send us of the King does not displease her; and that I am to assure you of her affection."† Now this letter, of which the original has disappeared, is considered by all believers in the marriage of Anne of Austria with Mazarin, as almost positive proof of the fact: but it is difficult to discern how Anne's involved, and cloudy sentences can be so construed. Nevertheless, such is the chief document upon which the myth has been founded. M. Cousin considers it as "*très significative;*" and that it is impossible to mistake the language of an affection very different from friendship, or of an attachment, political in its origin.

At the beginning of the month of June, 1651, Queen Anne was as anxious as Mazarin to hail his return, and needed not his perpetual objurgations, and

* Wife of Louis Quatorze.

† M. Walckenaer first discovered a copy of this letter, and published it in the Appendix of Les Mémoires de Madame de Sevigné, t. iii., p. 47, 472. He states that he found it amongst other letters of the Queen to Mazarin.—Bibl. Imp., MS. Boites du St. Esprit, no. 117, 116.

grumblings to expedite her movements. As Mazarin bitterly rejected the terms of his recall, by ceding to Condé "the half of the kingdom," Anne had recourse to other expedients long meditated. "I will not return," wrote Mazarin, "a dependent on M. le Prince, who consents thereto, provided that you grant him the power to exile me again at pleasure. Monsieur wills what you will, provided your Majesty leaves me in exile: such are the contradictions which you have to reconcile." To accelerate the movements of the Queen, in putting him in possession of the provinces of Guyenne, Champagne, Auvergne, Provence, and Bourgogne, Condé began to agitate in the Chamber respecting the influence still retained by Mazarin. His agent and mouthpiece, Deslandes Payen, leader of La Nouvelle Fronde, declaimed against the constant passage of couriers between Brühl, and the Palais Royal; and denounced the three under-secretaries of state, and Madame de Navailles, as the agents of the Cardinal—miserable parasites, subsisting on the venal breath of Mazarin, and betraying their country! Payen moved that inquisition should be made concerning the case of Contarini, the Roman banker, who, it was said, had recently carried a sum of nine millions sterling from the realm, to invest in foreign securities for the use of Mazarin. The Queen, furious at the insolence of Condé's partisans, peremptorily ordered Molé to suppress the debate, of which notice had been duly given. The Duchesse de Longueville, meantime, professing the deepest devotion for her brother, irritated the Queen by her airs of protection

and patronage: also, she fearlessly avowed her correspondence with the archduke; and declared that she was engaged in working out with him a grand plan for a general pacification, without even deigning to inform her Majesty of her views, and propositions.

Anne, therefore, utterly exasperated, and now ready for action, one evening sent for the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and for her daughter. Her Majesty abruptly asked the duchess, whether she still resented Condé's insult to her daughter, and whether she would join her in revenge upon their mutual foe? Madame de Chevreuse emphatically replied that she was the Queen's servant, and ready joyfully to obey all her commands: "The blood of Bourbon ought, methinks, Madame, to wash out the stain on the honour of Lorraine!" added she, significantly. This sufficed for Anne of Austria: turning to the young princess, Anne asked—"And you, *m'amie*, dare you, can you, still answer to me for the fidelity, and willingness of the Coadjutor?" "More than ever is he mine, Madame," answered Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, flippantly. The following night, at nine o'clock, the Queen suddenly sent the Marechal du Plessis Praslin, and his brother, M. d'Autel, to the residence of Gondy. They found him at home, in penitential guise, as the season was Lenten, and the Coadjutor had abjured politics, and always acted in accord with his declarations—which was the great source of his power. "The Queen summons you: her Majesty has resolved at last to intrust to you the honour and defence of her crown, and person!" exclaimed the Marshal, abruptly. So saying, Du

Plessis handed to the Coadjutor a letter, and a safe conduct, both written throughout in the Queen's handwriting. Kissing the letter, Gondy, always self-possessed, demurely committed the safe-conduct to the flames, and declared himself ready to obey all her Majesty's commands. He then added, that as for taking upon himself the ministry, he felt incapable of the burden, but that he would again serve the Queen loyally in the Chamber, and with the people: nevertheless, the post of prime minister must be filled, as its vacancy proved a tower of strength to M. de Condé, who, when offended, appealed to this fact as a proof that the return of Le Mazarin was intended.

At midnight, the Marechal du Plessis met Gondy in the *cloître* St. Honoré, and conducted him according to his instructions to the Queen's oratory. In a quarter of an hour Anne of Austria entered, and greeted the Coadjutor warmly. Gondy had very charming manners, and the Queen was comely, and fascinating. No success being in the Coadjutor's esteem impossible, or beyond his ability, the idea seems all at once to have smitten him, that Anne might be vanquished by his attractions, and lured, perhaps, into utter forgetfulness of her absent Cardinal! "The Queen is a woman governed by habit—try your fascinations!"—Monsieur had once said. Some great lady of the court, conversing about the Coadjutor, remarked in the hearing of the Queen, that M. de Gondy was not handsome. "No!" replied her Majesty; "M. le Coadjuteur is not handsome, but he has beautiful white and even teeth, and a man having good teeth cannot be called ugly!" In a

moment these little episodes flashed into the mind of Gondy, and rendered his reverential salute more than usually *empressé*. A cloud, however, stood over the heart of the Queen, and she hastened briefly to explain her summons, by offering to the Coadjutor the post of prime minister, and an apartment in the palace! Had Gondy believed the Queen's offer to be sincere his assent would have been rapturously spoken. "I saw, however, that Mazarin still reigned over her heart and mind, although she explained, that liking and esteeming him much, she did not intend to ruin the kingdom for his sake." Gondy, therefore, refused the office:—a light broke into the Queen's eyes—she hesitated, then offered him nomination to the Cardinalate, "as the price of the efforts which you, Monsieur, must make for the restoration of M. de Mazarin, out of love for me!" The precious paper, signed in due form, lay in the Queen's hand, which was stretched out eagerly towards the kneeling prelate at her feet. Gondy, rising, addressed the Queen in a long and able *exposé* of affairs —the gist of which was, that he saw no hope for the return of M. de Mazarin; her Majesty not being willing to cede to M. de Condé his exorbitant demands; nor able to persuade Monsieur to retract his veto. "Now, Madame, M. de Condé can wage war against you only by that weapon of public hate, Mazarin; Monsieur has no power of hurting you, or of rivalling M. le Prince, except through that same weapon. I could not serve you if I ceased to oppose M. le Cardinal. I should not be heard; my power would dissolve"—"*Si vous vouliez, si vous vouliez,*" inter-

rupted the Queen earnestly, tears swimming in her eyes. "No, Madame, I swear to you that I speak truth by everything most sacred!" "Return to me and my cause, and I will defy your Monsieur, who is the most miserable, and puny of men!" "I swear, Madame, if I were to relax in my denunciations against the Cardinal, I should be useless to you. I should be suspected by Monsieur, and hated by the people!" The Queen then went into a passion of emotion, and said that God would protect her son although his subjects abandoned him. She then said, "I do not blame you, as far as Monsieur is concerned; he is indeed a strange individual (*étrange Monsieur*). But what will you do then for me? I offer you a seat in council, and the Cardinalate. Speak, what can you do?" "Will your Majesty pardon an impertinence —or rather, a breach of the respect due to the blood royal?" "*Dites! Dites! que ferez vous?*" resumed Anne, impatiently. "Madame, what I engage to do for your Majesty is this: in eight days I will oblige M. le Prince de Condé to quit Paris; and to-morrow I will bring Monsieur penitent to your feet!" In a transport of joyous satisfaction, Anne stretched forth her hand, smiles beaming on her lips. "Will you do that?" exclaimed she; "my hand upon it, after to-morrow then, you are Cardinal elect; and moreover, the second of my friends!" Gondy then explained how he intended to work, to all which Anne listened with delighted assent. She then returned to the old subject of Mazarin, and said, "that it was her pleasure, that amity, and concord should exist between the

Cardinal, and M. de Gondy;" but the latter gravely implored the Queen to leave him at least the character of the enemy of Mazarin, or he could do nothing. "Truly, how strange! you tell me that to serve me it is necessary that you should act as the enemy of the minister who possesses my confidence!" She then presently asked, whether Gondy intended to confide the particulars of their interview to Monsieur? The Coadjutor replied that Monsieur would certainly approve; that his rancour against the Prince was great; and that his royal highness should on the following day mention certain alterations that her Majesty meditated at Fontainebleau in court circle, in token of his approval, and co-operation. The Queen, then, in answer to Gondy's solicitation—that she would be pleased to keep their interview secret—launched out into indignant comments on the treachery of MM. de Lyonne, and Servien, for having suffered Condé to imagine that such demands as his could be granted. The Queen hinted that the under-secretaries had suggested these requests in order to embarrass, and annoy the Cardinal, who totally repudiated the treaty. Her Majesty branded Chavigny as a "scoundrel," and said that Le Tellier, though not a traitor, was weak and ungrateful. Gondy then pressed the Queen to recall Châteauneuf, and to give him the nominal office vacant by Mazarin's resignation; adding contemptuously, in which her Majesty agreed, that "old Châteauneuf would make an admirable stop-gap." The interview terminated most satisfactorily, Gondy being pledged to defy, circumvent, and drive M. le Prince from the capital,

though still assuring the Queen that he would not, and could not, labour for the restoration of M. le Cardinal. "Well," said Anne, musingly, "at least remember that it is M. le Cardinal, who makes you a Cardinal! Go, you are a true devil! See Madame la Palatine; she will tell you something more. We must lose no time in writing to the Cardinal, as it will be very difficult to persuade him to trust Châteauneuf again, whom he hates. Every moment is precious! See how M. le Prince treats me, now that he is convinced that I intend altogether to disavow the fine negotiations of my two traitors, Servien and Lyonne! Let me know when you will make your *début* for me in the Palais. Adieu!" So saying, Anne rang a bell, which brought Gaboury, who conducted the Coadjutor by underground passages, and circuitous ways, to the kitchen postern, through which, on a previous audience with the Queen, he had made his exit from the palace.*

On leaving the Palais Royal, Gondy rushed to see Monsieur, who, since Condé had broken with Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter, and disavowed the other articles agreed to in his name by the Princesse Palatine, had declared himself the enemy of the Prince. Monsieur scolded the Coadjutor in an unconnected way for refusing office in Mazarin's place; but otherwise confessed much satisfaction at the interview. Quitting the Luxembourg, the Coadjutor repaired to see the Princesse Palatine, who, already prepared by the Queen for the visit, awaited him, pen

* Mém. du Cardinal de Retz, vol. ii.

in hand, ready to convey to the exile of Brühl the welcome intelligence of the renewed coalition of Gondy, and the party of the old Fronde with the court.

M. de Chavigny, meanwhile, who had been recalled to the ministry for the subtle purpose of allaying the impatience, and apprehensions of Condé, at length discovered that Mazarin had prohibited the execution of the treaty concluded by Lyonne. In a communication to the Prince, he added his own private conviction, that the Queen never intended reconciliation, but that she continued the unsparing and ruthless enemy of Condé, and had deliberately plotted to overthrow him, and on his ruin to erect again Mazarin's authority. The behaviour of the great Condé at this critical juncture proves that a warrior unrivalled in marshalling the armies of his sovereign may be helpless, and incompetent for the conduct of a faction. His rage took the garb of defiance; he began to raise men and stores for the garrison of the strongholds in his power. The young Princesse de Condé retired to Montrond; and Madame de Longueville announced her approaching departure for Sténay, to conclude an accommodation with the Spaniard. Turenne, and his brother the Duc de Bouillon, nevertheless, retired from the conflict: the duke reminded Condé, that the King's majority was at hand; that the Regent, having pardoned M. de Turenne, and liberated the Duchesse de Bouillon, he could not, without some notable personal grievance, again raise the flag of rebellion. The Prince next commenced in good earnest a campaign against Mazarin, aware that he could not more effectually

revenge himself on the Queen. "When M. le Prince felt certain that the Cardinal had given his veto to the treaty negotiated by Servien and Lyonne, he did all in his power to excite the Parliament, in order to render himself redoubtable. Every day, he began a new scene. Sometimes he caused envoys to be sent into the provinces to collect evidence against the Cardinal; at others, search was made in Paris, at his palace. Bartet, Brachat, and Fouquet, were repeatedly denounced before the Chamber for their journeyings between Paris, and Brühl; while M. le Prince insidiously declared that the reason I had forsaken my seat in Parliament was that I had relented in my persecution of Mazarin."* The Queen's indignation reached its climax against the Prince, when she was petitioned to publish a second Declaration of outlawry against the Cardinal; and asked to issue a commission under the Great Seal to examine into the conduct of the banker Contarini. M. Ondedei, the faithful chaplain of the Cardinal, meantime was arrested on his way from Brühl, and his letters, addressed to the Queen, and to the Palatine by Mazarin, were seized and laid before the Chamber. Fortunately for Mazarin, the greater part of the correspondence was in cipher, so dexterously contrived that little information could be gleaned. The Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, witnessing the transports of Anne's indignation, offered to arrest Condé in the open street on his way to the Palais, and to poignard him should a weapon be lifted for his rescue. The same

* Mém. de Retz, vol. ii.

night, Anne sent for Gondy, who had made his promised appearance in the Chamber and voted against the proposed arrest of M. Contarini. The Coadjutor found her Majesty highly exasperated, and proposing the arrest of Condé. She said that the Cardinal was innocent, and had always erred on the side of leniency; and that she dreaded nothing so much, as that he should now propose reconciliation with the Prince, for that she infinitely preferred the risk of civil war: "*Il veut perir! il perira!*" said she, violently. Gondy agreed that the arrest of the Prince would be easy; and proposed that Monsieur should be requested to strike the proposed blow at the Luxembourg, as M. le Prince now declined to trust himself in the Palais Royal. Anne refused to permit Monsieur to act in any way: she distrusted him, she said; he was weak, and was capable of repenting even when the hand of the King's captain of the guard touched the shoulder of M. le Prince. Musing for a few minutes, Anne, turning to the Coadjutor, who eagerly watched every shade of thought as it passed over her face, said, "Confer with M. d'Hocquincourt. There are ways and means of greater certainty than that which you now propose." Gondy affirms steadily that the Queen wished, and intended the assassination of Condé; that she was always dwelling on "means more certain than arrest;" and pertinaciously reverted to the advice and courage of M. d'Hocquincourt, in the many subsequent interviews which she granted him. The Coadjutor saw M. d'Hocquincourt in the presence of Madame de Chevreuse. The Marshal repeated his offer, which was received,

according to Gondy, with horror and rebuke. He also himself relates, that a few hours subsequently he again saw the Queen, "who then greatly approved of our sentiments; and declared that M. d'Hocquincourt had not spoken to her of absolute assassination. "Upon these facts you may found an opinion," adds Gondy, pointedly. Whether Anne ever contemplated this crime must remain doubtful; her passions were hot, her rage excited by the bravado of the Prince, and her eagerness to restore her minister was daily sharpened by urgent, and reproachful letters from Brühl. It is certain, however, that while still pondering over the proposition made to arrest the Prince, she sent for the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, and ordered him to take a regiment of troops, and storm the Hôtel Condé during the night, seizing all its inmates, whom he was to lodge in the King's stronghold of Vincennes. "I leave you to judge what that order meant," writes Gondy. "As if M. de Condé, a very lion in courage, would have permitted himself to be quietly arrested in his hôtel, which was filled with an armed train!"* This expedient was abandoned because the Coadjutor refused to sanction it, but offered instead to cause the arrest to be made at the Luxembourg; or to foil every seditious enterprise of the Prince, and to raise the people of Paris against him, so that he would have to abandon the capital. No argument, however, could induce Anne of Austria to permit Monsieur to execute this stroke of authority; "perhaps her Majesty dreaded

* De Retz, t. ii.

that Monsieur, once initiated in the mode of such *coups d'état*, might, on provocation, be tempted to try the remedy again in her own person."

Condé, meantime, through the revelations of Chavigny, and de Lyonne, discerned the peril, and took every precaution to guard against sudden surprise. He fortified his hôtel, placed videttes in the garden, kept a band of retainers under arms day and night, and perambulated Paris followed by an escort of four hundred gentlemen. In vain he sought explanation with the Queen. Anne refused to listen, or to make any terms whatever. The courts of the Palais Royal bristled with arms; and when the King took exercise on horseback, he was always attended by regiments of musketeers, and light horse. One day Condé was on the fashionable promenade Cours de la Reine, when the King was returning from Surêne, where, during the summer months, he went to bathe. Gallant from boyhood, Louis had ordered his armed escort to follow the paved walk bordering on the river, and not to accompany him on the broad gravel pathway of the promenade, so as not to annoy any ladies thereon, by the dust which must attend the passing of so large a body of troops. This circumstance saved the Prince; for the King loudly expressed his regret that his guard was not at hand, declaring that he would have ordered the arrest of M. de Condé! The carriage of the Prince, however, drew up by that of the King, and Condé, advancing to the door of the coach, made low reverence before his youthful sovereign, who returned the salute without a word of greeting. Condé therefore, deeming his life and liberty in peril, resolved to retire from Paris to St.

Maur. His flight was accomplished during the night. A friend on watch at his hôtel suddenly roused him from sleep with the unwelcome news that a large body of cavalry was in the streets, the destination of which nobody knew. Condé rose, and taking to horse, galloped from Paris in the direction of St. Maur. It was afterwards explained that the troops were marshalled to guard one of the barriers through which ministers had been informed that a large consignment of wine was to be smuggled. Few persons believed this explanation. The power of Anne of Austria, by her alliance with the dominant party equalled her animosity against the enemy, and betrayer of M. de Mazarin; and the presumptuous subject who had dared to dictate to his sovereign.

The flight of Condé to St. Maur was a joyous event for the court. Anne had then her first triumph—and a certainty that no vexatious interposition of usurped authority would have power to delay the proclamation of the majority—an event ardently longed for by the Queen. Besides, the total overthrow of the Prince guaranteed the preponderance of her own power. Determined to pursue and extirpate to the uttermost so dreaded a rival, Anne continued her interviews, and repeated her pledges to the Coadjutor, and to Madame de Chevreuse, and positively promised the latter to bring about the marriage of her daughter with M. de Conty. The Prince, meanwhile, was followed to St. Maur by all his kinsmen, and partisans in Paris. Conty, Madame de Longueville, and the Ducs de Nemours, Beaufort, M. Lenet, and others, repaired thither, and formed a

council, which was ironically termed at court, *les Etâts de la Ligue*. For the first ten days St. Maur was brilliant, and festivities banished the sad and boding previsions of Condé. Madame de Longueville, violent and impolitic, however, urged her brother to prepare for war, to depose the Queen, and to seize the person of the young King; and by that necessary measure to govern the realm until his Majesty was of age to choose his own counsellors. "Monseigneur, there is no alternative. The King proclaimed of age a few weeks hence, always under the influence of his mother, will recall Mazarin, and we are lost. Strike while yet you may! Accept the combat offered; and insist, as the first step, upon the immediate banishment of the under-secretaries Lyonne, Servien, and Le Tellier, who are the scouts of Mazarin, and betray the secrets of the privy council." The hopes of the ambitious duchess were pleasurably raised when, a few days later, M. d'Orleans arrived suddenly at St. Maur. Overpowered by the vehement cordiality of his reception, Monsieur at length stammered forth, that he had been deputed by the High Court to request the return of the Prince to Paris. The Chamber had received the letter written by M. le Prince, stating his apprehensions; and having referred it to the Queen, through M. Talon, had received, in reply, an assurance "that her Majesty never had intention to arrest M. le Prince." On the motion of Molé, therefore, Monsieur had been authorised to wait on the Prince, and exhort him to return, and end the feud by paying his homage to their Majesties. "Tell the Chamber," responded Condé,

vehemently, "that her Majesty's intentions are well known—that I will never return to Paris until the creatures of the Cardinal, MM. le Tellier, Lyonne, and Servien, Bartet, and others, cease to irritate the Queen, and to inspire her Majesty to adopt the violent, and pernicious counsels to which I, Prince de Condé, have nearly fallen a victim!" Monsieur returned with this reply: the Chamber deliberated on the demands of the Prince, and resolved, by a majority of sixty votes, that the "requirements of M. le Prince should be proposed for the deliberation of the Assembly."

At 4 a.m. Anne sent for the Coadjutor, so violently was she affected by this resolution. "I found her Majesty *dans un emportement extraordinaire* against Lyonne, but which had in nothing mitigated her rage against the Prince." Anne again mentioned the proposal of M. d'Hocquincourt. Gondy remonstrated; and ably set forth the advantages already gained over the Prince. The Queen, however, heard with extreme dismay, and suspicion, Gondy's avowal, that, in the matter of Mazarin, and the three under-secretaries of state, he would be compelled to vote with his friends; who, although amenable to his influence in every other political juncture, were set against the return of Mazarin. "That is only a pretext; do I not every day assure the Parliament that the Cardinal has quitted France for ever, and without the slightest hope of return?" "Yes, Madame," replied the imperturbable Gondy, "but I pray your Majesty to believe that nothing respecting the Cardinal is secret. One quarter of an hour after

the Cardinal annulled the treaty concluded with M. le Prince, every one knew that its first article recalled the Cardinal, on condition of the plenary execution of the said treaty. M. le Prince lets every one understand that you, Madame, made it a condition necessary and irrevocable." "Never mind," replied the Queen, "people talk, and will believe, despite my sentiments. Let them therefore act on what they believe. Give me your opinion—what shall I now do?" "If your Majesty would listen and consent, you would now reign more absolutely than during the first days of your Regency. Forsake M. de Mazarin, and you will become the arbitress of the kingdom. M. de Condé wishes for Guyenne; M. de la Rochefoucauld covets Blaye; M. de Conty demands Provence; M. de Bouillon, Sedan; M. de Turenne, the command-in-chief; M. de Nemours, Auvergne. Order the Cardinal, Madame, to retire to Rome, and you may then deride and deny all our importunities, and withold my cardinalate into the bargain!" "But would you cease to pretend thereto? Have I not already assured the Parliament that M. de Mazarin will not return?" persisted the Queen. "No, Madame, I cease not to pretend, nor do others, because every one knows that M. de Mazarin still continues to govern absolutely as ever! Your Majesty has done me the honour to confess this to me. I am here, you have told me, by the command of M. de Mazarin. I am Cardinal by his *bienveillant* friendship. Every one believes, Madame, that which you perpetually disavow; it is this fact which ruins all!"*

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii.; Guy Joly; Registres du Parlement de Paris, et de

A minister so unsparing, and matter-of-fact was not a man to the Queen's taste. Gondy was necessary—the only personage, who, with his party, could make head against the Prince, and raise a formidable faction against him. She, therefore, agreed at this interview, to recall Châteauneuf, and bestow upon him the nominal title of prime minister; adding, at the same time, bitter words of dislike, and alienation.

Anne, meantime, began to make great preparations for the proclamation of the majority. Circular letters were issued at the end of the month of July, to all public bodies, municipalities, and Parliaments in the realm, announcing the fact, and inviting deputations to witness the august ceremony on the approaching 7th of September, 1651. All promises, all treaties—except those with foreign princes—all agreements, were then to be subjected to the absolute will and pleasure, for confirmation or abrogation, of the young Louis Quatorze; who was devoted to his mother, swayed by her will, and commending then, as he did to the last day of his long career, her policy, and courage. No person frowned upon by Anne of Austria, had ever yet found solace by the sympathy implied, or expressed of the King. Mazarin he loved affectionately; the *suave* manner of the accomplished Cardinal, and the fascination of his daily intercourse, and knowledge of art and literature, rendered his society most seducing to the young monarch. The approach, therefore, of the majority, was an episode of dire anticipation and

l'Hôtel de Ville; Aubéry, Vie du Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. v.; Leti; Siri; Gualdo Priorato; Prioli; Muratori; Bayle.

fear to the Queen's opponents. Hence the anxious desire of Monsieur to have entrapped the Queen into assent for the convocation of the States General four days before the majority. It has been surmised that Monsieur, and the Prince de Condé had then resolved to propose the prolongation of the King's minority until he had attained the age of eighteen. Meantime, Monsieur intended to take the conduct of affairs, and to appoint Madame de Chevreuse as *surintendente de la Maison du Roy*, and to confirm Villeroy in his post of governor to the King. The fate of Anne of Austria seems rather to have been implied than settled. Probably the alternative would have been offered toher Majesty of retreat back to Spain; or the shelter of beautiful Val de Grâce as its Abbess-Queen.

The High Court, meantime, held session on the demands and grievances of M. de Condé. The Prince de Conty represented his brother on this occasion; and spoke on the persecution besetting the Prince, alluding to the Queen's deadly hate, and the malignant influence exercised by Le Tellier, Lyonne, and Servien, who kept up a daily communication with the outlawed Mazarin. The question of the compulsory resignation of these "*ministraux*" was then canvassed. Deslandes Payen spoke acrimoniously; and was answered by Gondy in his happiest vein. He represented the oppression and vassalage which must ensue, if a sudden aversion on the part of one of MM. les Princes could cause the exile of the King's ministers; and that the King himself would soon become subject. The question was then put to the vote, and lost by a large majority

—all the members of the old Fronde unexpectedly voting with the Coadjutor. It was nevertheless resolved that remonstrances should be made to the Queen, exhorting her to examine into the conduct of the under-secretaries of state, and to be pleased to conciliate M. le Prince. Anne heard the remonstrance without one word of reply. Nevertheless, the action of the Chamber so alarmed MM. le Tellier, Lyonne, and Servien, that they resigned office, and hurried from Paris.* They believed that the banishment of Mazarin was final: in that case, the reconciliation of the court with Condé was a matter only of time, temper, and expediency. Having, therefore, a view to the future, and their own after-fortunes, they preferred not to make a confirmed antagonist of Condé; who might eventually have it in his power to close every avenue of their political career. Le Tellier, shortly sensible of the mistake he had made in despairing of his patron's fortune, procured by earnest solicitations his restoration to office; for the Cardinal appreciated the solidity of his understanding, and was reluctant to lose a servant hitherto so devoted.

When the three under-secretaries had quitted Paris, Condé showed himself again at the Palais, having the audacity to appear there without having previously saluted the King. Vehemently reproached for such disrespect, Condé replied, with a threatening glance at Gondy, "that the word of the Queen, and the guarantee of the first President had not before

* Mém. de Retz; Brigues pour le Gouvernement, Suppl. F, no. 300; Vie de Condé, Archives Curieuses, t. 7.

exempted him from a hard imprisonment of thirteen months! he therefore begged to be allowed to take his own time for reconciliation; that everything was still done and directed by Le Mazarin; he had even to dread enemies more perfidious, who in nightly conferences had counselled, and still counselled his arrest!"* Monsieur hastened to confirm the assertion "that their mortal enemy dictated even the smallest action undertaken by the Queen," ending with the valiant assurance, that Mazarin should enter Paris over his body, in case it were attempted to recall him. After further debate of a declamatory character it was agreed,—"that inquisition should be made into the alleged intended arrest of M. le Prince, and into the motives of his enemies; that the Chamber engaged to guarantee his liberty—meantime, the members very humbly entreated M. le Prince to take the initiative in a reconciliation with the crown, by paying his respects to their Majesties at the Palais Royal." Not deeming it expedient to refuse so formal a summons, the Prince assented with bad grace; and on leaving the Chamber, went with the Duc d'Orleans to the palace, thinking that this sudden visit might be less perilous in its consequences than a state audience. Anne was surprised, but not daunted: "the interview was cold; the conversation public; and the visit short." Having showed his deference to the opinion and request of the High Court, Condé retreated again to St. Maur.

At Brühl, during these important transactions, Mazarin keenly watched the progress of the Queen's

* Mém. de Retz, t. ii.

clever manœuvres. Still distrusting Gondy, he warns her to be on her guard "against the enterprises of the Coadjutor (Le Poltron), as his probity is mediocre; and, if he can find means to take in Zabaot (the Queen), he will not stick at trifles. As for the Parliament, its brawls will abate, as the Coadjutor, Madame de Chevreuse (l'Esprit), and Monsieur, will throw water on its flames." To Le Tellier Mazarin writes clearly, and with less ambiguity. In his letters to the Queen, the names of persons, affairs, and political incidents are shrouded in cipher. Often the Queen herself was compelled to suspend her curiosity and anxiety, respecting Mazarin's communications, while Madame de Navailles, and sometimes Le Tellier, unfolded the oracle, word by word, and paragraph by paragraph. After all, it was sometimes necessary to forward the document thus deciphered for the Cardinal's revision. Mazarin writes to Le Tellier in July, to urge upon the Queen the expediency of leaving Paris at the first opportunity. Anne showed a reluctance to follow this advice, having now obtained the upper hand, and being employed in the pleasant pastime of driving Condé to open rebellion, and flight. "If their Majesties remain in Paris, you will see that they will be compelled to hold States, and to cause the ceremony of the coronation to be there performed; and, moreover, they will be compelled to confirm all the Declarations extorted from the crown during these three years past. M. de Châteauneuf tries to close all the avenues of my return. In the name of God speak to the Queen! Exhort her!

The welfare of the state demands that the King may commence his reign in freedom!"*

One great gratification and solace was experienced by Mazarin in his exile at Brühl. The Duc de Mercœur, regardless of parliamentary edicts and personal peril, departed secretly from Paris for Brühl in quest of his fair *fiancée*, Mademoiselle Mancini; and actually espoused her in the chapel of the castle, the ceremony being performed by the Cardinal in person, on the 28th of July. The heart of Mazarin melted in grateful admiration of this fidelity; and he ever remembered "the noble independence of M. de Mercœur," when his word again swayed the sceptre of France. Mercœur made noble settlements on his bride; and, refusing to leave her with her uncle, escorted her to the castle of Anet, where he left her with his mother, Madame de Vendôme. The duke then came back to Paris quietly, to take the consequences of his act. In the Chamber he was fiercely assailed by Condé; and on the 13th of August the question was put to him by Molé, whether, in defiance of all the edicts of outlawry against the Cardinal de Mazarin and his kindred, he had recently espoused the niece of the said Mazarin? Mercœur replied that he was the husband of Victoire Laure Mancini; but that he had espoused her before the exile of M. de Mazarin, and therefore was not responsible for his deed to the Chamber. This assertion was allowed to pass: for by saying that he had previously

* Ravenel, Lettres de Mazarin, pp. 156-7.

espoused his wife, the duke alluded to their solemn betrothal in the chapel of the Louvre. "M. de Mercœur," relates the Coadjutor, "replied to the snubbing of the Chamber like a Jean Doucet: nevertheless, being much nettled and pressed, he told Monsieur, that at one time he had bothered him for three months together to accept this marriage; while M. le Prince had also given him long ago his positive assent." "The Queen," continues Gondy, "was much annoyed at the persistency of the Chamber; and conjured Monsieur, with tears in her eyes, to stifle the inquiry." Nothing more befel the gallant bridegroom. Anne showed so evidently her intention to protect him, speaking publicly in approval "of his generous and gallant fidelity," that it was thought prudent to take no further cognizance of the misdemeanour. Mazarin gives Mercœur the appellation *Le bon Mari* in his cipher, and praises, and recommends him in every possible manner to Anne's favour. Sometimes the Cardinal writes in low spirits, complaining of poverty, loneliness, and suspense: then he declares that the letters of Sérafin, are his best panacea for woe; and that he reads over and over again these epistles, admiring the steady courage, the admirable devotion, and the unexampled fidelity of the writer. "Hélas! how I dread tiring you, and vexing you by so many letters and admonitions; but I believe myself compelled, and in duty bound to warn you against peril, and deceit!"* Mazarin's letters are

* Ravenel, Lettres de Mazarin, p. 169.

filled with such poor frothy plaints; and it is to be remarked that he never addresses the Queen as if he had the right to do so—never ventures upon a word of familiarity, or descends from the high flights of courtly compliment. His chief anxiety seems to be his recall to power. In one of the letters, dated September 12th, he says: "I protest again, that my sole desire is to return to the Queen to serve her, and to end my days in the capacity of her servant, without interfering with things little, or great. The condition of the Queen will be pitiable indeed if she cannot accomplish that, having on her side the King, and justice. The Queens Blanche, and Marie de' Medici managed to recall two Cardinals, and re-established them in authority greater than ever; although I may say, without vanity, they had not served, as I have served; nor did they possess the affection of the King, as I possess it. Again, I shall be satisfied with little; I will obey the Queen blindly; but I conjure her, by the love of God, not to insist that I shall return to Rome (Paris), and place myself in the hands of my enemies: neither, that she will require me to return to the place of my birth to ask for alms, being banished from France with ignominy." * This letter, addressed to Anne of Austria, does not certainly read like a private communication from a husband to his wife; written in the belief that no eye but her own would rest on the cipher, or be able to extract its hidden meaning.

* Ravenel, Lettres de Mazarin, p. 254.

Anne of Austria, however, was preparing to resign her high office as Regent of France. Previously, however, she intended to strike the great blow she had long meditated against Condé, his brother, his sister, and their adherents. That achieved, and Louis Quatorze proclaimed, she designed to quit Paris, and with the King, to place herself at the head of the armies of France; to put her foot on the neck of her enemies, to recall Mazarin, and to reign with the latter over France—enfranchised by the majority of her darling son from the limitations with which custom, the prohibitions of the late King Louis Treize, and the Parliament of Paris, had fettered her Regency. How dexterously the Queen wrought the triumphant return of Mazarin it does not come within the scope of this work to relate. To render this happy reunion possible, Anne's sagacity revealed to her that Condé must be driven forth into open rebellion against the monarchy he revered; and of which, but for Mazarin, he would have remained the glory, and the strength. While Condé dominated in Paris, exile must be the lot of Mazarin: recalled to combat Condé with the fire of his genius, and the subtleties of his intellect, the rule of the Cardinal became necessary, and brilliant. Monsieur, "that least, and most miserable of men," excited no apprehension in the mind of the Queen; and she was indifferent as to the course which he might pursue.

On the 17th of August, 1651, a grand bill of indictment against M. le Prince de Condé was presented to the High Court by order of their Majesties. This

document recapitulated all the offences committed by Condé against the crown; and with inconceivable acrimony noted all the changes of his political creed, and grudgingly recounted the benefits conferred upon him. His negotiations with Spain; his treacherous relations with His Catholic Majesty, were dwelt upon; his garrisons were enumerated; and his threats recorded. This manifesto had been previously communicated by the Queen to Monsieur, who had promised to be in his place in the Chamber when it was read aloud. Panic stricken, and discomposed, Monsieur, however, did not appear. The Prince rose, and gave formal, and indignant contradiction to its assertions; and moved, that the Lieutenant-General should be summoned, and meantime all debate suspended. Deputies were thereupon despatched to the Luxembourg. Monsieur, being previously apprised of their approach, summoned his surgeon, and ordered himself to be bled; and then retiring to bed in ceremony, declined, as he was indisposed, to receive the envoys of the Chamber. Divided between his duty, his promise to the Queen, and his fear of Condé, whose perdition might be the herald of his own, Monsieur passed the night in anguish. At dawn he rose, and ordered his coach, determined to retire to Limours until the storm abated. Condé, knowing Monsieur's temperament, intercepted him, as he was leaving the palace. Drawing a paper and an ink-horn from his pocket, he presented both to the duke, and in a few strong words demanded his signature to a document containing a formal contradiction of the most grievous of Anne's charges.

Monsieur trembled like an aspen leaf, and attempted some expostulation, some procrastination; but overpowered by Condé's energy, he at length signed the paper on the seat of his coach, and escaped to Limours. A few hours later, Monsieur sent to inform, and apologise to, the Queen for the act he had committed; stating, that he had done it advisedly, to pleasure M. le Prince; and in order to keep on terms with his royal highness, so that he could help her in case of necessity. Anne received the message with contemptuous unconcern, and returned no answer.

Condé, meantime, laid on the table of the Chamber his own vindication, and the paper signed by Monsieur, and spoke vigorously and fiercely in his own defence, threatening his foes, and especially menacing the Coadjutor. "We are aware who the author of this calumny is!—do we not feel assured that it is the same man who recently gave us the violent counsel to arm Paris and to tear the Great Seal from the Queen's nominee!" Gondy arose, and with insinuating meekness, replied, that to give answer, or to comment upon any fact which had happened in the presence of Monsieur, would be to insult the latter. Then, fixing his eyes sternly and defiantly on the face of Condé, the Coadjutor said —"Accusations from my enemies I care not for—no one can truly reproach me with failing in loyalty towards my friends!" This semi-contradiction infuriated the already ruffled temper of the Prince, and he placed his hand on the guard of his sword. A shrill cry of rage and defiance then echoed through the

hall; the galleries of the Palais were filled with armed rabble, and on the gesture of M. le Prince four thousand naked swords flashed from their scabbards. A fight seemed imminent, and a horrible massacre must have ensued, had not the generosity of Condé prevailed. He assumed again a tranquil aspect, and answered calmly the taunt of the Coadjutor. Anne was transported with joy at this open declaration of war between the old, and the new Fronde; she praised the Coadjutor, and condescended to so many gracious indications of approbation, that many personages of the court began to believe in a second reign of favour, with Gondy for its head. Before abandoning herself entirely in politics to the guidance of the Coadjutor, Anne tested his fidelity in characteristic manner. The Duchesse d'Orleans, matter of fact, and caring nothing for the favour or disfavour of the court, attended the Queen on the festival of the Assumption to hear mass in the chapel of the great Carmelite convent. The royal ladies received the Holy Eucharist, and on retiring together from the altar Anne turned suddenly on Madame, saying: "In the frequent interviews which M. le Coadjuteur has now with Monsieur, does he ardently and faithfully uphold my policy, and the King's interests? This, Madame, is a solemn moment, I pray you answer me." "Madame," replied the duchess, "the Coadjutor is now your faithful servant; he serves you truly with Monsieur." Satisfied and delighted, Anne passed on to her chair of state. From thenceforth she trusted Gondy implicitly; and even despatched an envoy to the Holy See, requesting,

on behalf of the King, his immediate nomination to the cardinalate.

Between the 21st of August, and the 7th of September, the brawls in the Palais became daily more frightful, and menacing. The Prince de Condé perambulated the streets at the head of armed retainers; a thousand gentlemen banded themselves for his defence, and accompanied him daily to the Palais. The Coadjutor made equal demonstration. Anne placed at his disposal a guard of musketeers and Swiss, who followed him, wearing the royal colours; the nobles of the old Fronde rallied round their astute leader; and Gondy, radiant with complacent triumph, but always declaring himself the vindictive enemy of Mazarin, received his welcome guerdon in the smiles of Anne of Austria, beaming from "*cette belle bouche qui pouvait servir de modèle à tous les peintres!*" In one of these *séances* of the Chamber, Gondy nearly lost his life, being accidentally jammed by the neck between the heavy iron portal, which separated the Chamber from *le parquet des Huissiers*. While thus imprisoned and helpless, and surrounded by the partisans of the Prince, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld shouted to some of his retainers to poignard the Coadjutor! Always fortunate, Gondy escaped, partly owing to the scruples of those around; but perhaps more certainly by the opportune arrival of the son of M. Molé, and a party of his own adherents. So scandalised was the first President at these terrific scenes, that he proceeded to the palace to pray her Majesty to prohibit M. le Coadjuteur from appearing again in the Chamber until

after the proclamation of the majority of the King, which request Anne was pleased to grant.

Condé, meanwhile, fearing for his liberty, after a vain effort to induce the Chamber to declare that the treasonable charges preferred by the crown were not proveable, retired to Chantilly on the 2nd of September. Madame de Longueville retreated to Sténey. The young Princesse de Condé, with her son, was safe in the stronghold of Montrond. All the castles in Condé's government were garrisoned, and his officers ready to follow the signal of their leader. Civil war menaced France from north to south. The Queen, determined and resolute, flinched not from the prospect; already Turenne, and the Maréchal du Plessis Praslin had received the secret orders of her Majesty, or rather of her exiled minister. The Queen also intended on the day after the proclamation of the majority, to restore the Great Seal to the President de Molé in the very presence of Monsieur, by whose "tyrannical interference" it had been taken from him against her will, and in defiance of her authority.

By the proclamation of the majority of Louis Quatorze, Anne doubted not to find sovereign remedy for the woes of the realm. "She expected to derive power, and to cast aside the yoke in having as Regent, to account for her actions to Monsieur, and to M. le Prince. She hoped also for an obedient son, a King crowned with sovereign authority: she was satisfied of his tender love, and of the grand qualities of his mind; and she acted under the persuasion that his will, his wisdom, and

his stately manner would restore the *prestige* of royal Majesty; and overthrow for ever, the intrigues, the broils, the insubordination, and the treasonable pretensions which had marred the long years of his minority."

CHAPTER VII.

1651.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA PROCLAIMS THE MAJORITY OF LOUIS QUATORZE.

At dawn, September 7th, 1651, the cannon of the Arsenal, the Bastille, and the forts around Paris, saluted the auspicious morn with a great roar of artillery. At six o'clock, Anne of Austria arose, and arrayed herself royally, wearing her crown royal for the first time since the death of King Louis Treize. At eight o'clock, M. Sainctôt, master of the ceremonies, proceeded to the bed-chamber of King Louis Quatorze, and announced that her Majesty the Queen, accompanied by Monsieur, and by a train of noble peers, was on her way to congratulate, and salute him. Louis was standing before the gilt balustrade of his alcove, attended by all the great officers of the crown, who for the first time had attended his *lever*. He commanded the Lord High Chamberlain, Duc de Joyeuse, and the Marquis de Souvré, first chamberlain in ordinary, to meet and receive "her Majesty, our beloved mother." Anne presently entered, followed by Monsieur, and attended by the Ducs de Vendôme, de Mercœur, de Chevreuse, d'Elbœuf, de Beaufort,

d'Usez, Epernon, Roannais, Candale, d'Amville, the prince d'Harcourt, the Marshals of the realm, M. le Coadjuteur, and all the officers of her household. The King eagerly advanced towards his mother, and embraced her with many loving words, preventing her from kissing his hand, saying, that it was rather his duty to render such homage to a tender mother, and to so great a Regent. Monsieur then stepped forward and bowed profoundly, and kneeling he kissed his Majesty's hand, a homage which Louis received with grave composed dignity. All the other lords then performed their homage. The King then ordered the procession to be marshalled to the Palais; and leading forth his mother, his Majesty stepped out into the balcony under the clock tower to watch the departure of the first part of the procession from the palace.

First marched a company of soldiers, with flags and banners, and kettledrums beating; then a company of the Queen's light-horse: all the young nobles of the court next defiled, 800 in number, riding on horses splendidly caparisoned, preceded by trumpeters. Then followed two hundred of the King's regiment of light-horse, also preceded by trumpeters; the Company of City Guards, led by the Lord High Provost, and a hundred Swiss guards, with banners. Then came Sainctôt, master of the ceremonies, preceding a splendid group of horsemen, composed of noblemen governors of fortresses and provinces, magnificently attired and riding bay horses, having housings of cloth of gold, their saddle-cloths sparkling with jewels: following, rode the Knights of St. Esprit. Six trumpeters

came next, arrayed in blue velvet, making joyous *fanfarronade:* then six heralds, wearing gorgeously-embroidered tabards, preceded M. de Rhodes, grand master of ceremonies, who rode before the great officers of the crown, and the marshals of France—MM. d'Etrées, de la Mothe d'Houdancourt, de l'Hôpital, du Plessis, and d'Hocquincourt. Next came the Count d'Harcourt, grand equerry of France, carrying the King's sword aloft, sheathed in a scabbard of blue velvet. Next in procession came a swarm of noble pages, the young companions of the King, and his groom of the stole. Then advanced the cynosure of all eyes on this notable day, King Louis Quatorze—"handsome as Adonis, august in majesty, the pride and joy of humanity, who was greeted with rapturous cheers, and by silent, and deep prayer for his health and prosperity. His Majesty was attired in a habit embroidered with gold, pearls, and precious stones, so beset that its material could not be discerned. He looked so tall and majestic, that his Majesty's age would have been thought to be eighteen. The King rode a fine chestnut barb, caparisoned with cloth of gold, embroidered in pearls and rubies with the badge of St. Esprit, and the *fleurs-de-lis* of Bourbon. The charger was spirited, and bore his sacred Majesty gallantly, prancing and curvetting, as if proud of his august burden, though perfectly controlled by the steady hand of the King, who was one of the best riders in Christendom."* At the right of the King

* Aubéry, Vie de Card. de Mazarin, lib. v.; Declaration de le Majorité du Roi—in 8vo. Paris, 1651.

rode the Duc de Joyeuse; behind, followed the Marshal de Villeroy, and the Marquis de Gêsvres and de Villequier, captains of the guard, and M. de Beringhen, first lord of the bed-chamber. Following were all the noblemen of eminent rank in Paris—such as the Ducs d'Usez, de Brissac, and others. Then came the officers of the household of Anne of Austria, preceding the Queen's state coach, drawn by eight Andalusian horses, led by footmen in the royal liveries. In the coach were her Majesty the Queen, the Duc d'Orleans, the little Monsieur, the Princesse de Carignan, the Duchesse d'Aguillon, Madame de Senécé, and the Marquise de Souvré. The regiment of Mousquetaires du Roy followed, and the Queen's body guard: then came the state carriages of the princesses; and five royal equipages, drawn by four horses, conveying Anne's maids of honour, and Mesdames de Motteville, de Beauvais, de Navailles, and others.

This splendid pageant defiled through the streets of Paris to the Palais. "Crowds of the King's subjects cried *Vive le Roi!* and the roofs of the houses were covered with spectators, who by voice, and gesticulations thanked God for the majority of their fair young King."

Their Majesties, on arriving at the Palais, first heard mass in La Sainte Chapelle. Afterwards, the march from the chapel to the Chamber was formed. Heralds preceded the immense procession: the clash of military bands, the shouts of the populace, and the clangour of the bells of Nôtre Dame, added to the pomp and excitement of the ceremony. Louis XIV., arrayed in his

royal mantle, traversed the Salle de Pas Perdus with stately step—that spacious hall, which only six days previously had swarmed with a ferocious rabble. He entered the Chamber by the heavy iron doors, between which the Coadjutor three days previously had been nearly strangled, but which were now thrown open to admit his pacific entrance. Louis slowly walked up to his throne, with a dignity and composure which amazed the spectators. Anne of Austria followed, her train being borne by the Duc d'Usez: her Majesty seated herself in a chair of state, placed on the right of the throne. Around their Majesties all the lords of their *cortège* were grouped in due order of precedency. The galleries of the Chamber were occupied by ladies *en grande tenue*, wives and daughters of the members of the High Court. In a glazed alcove, just above the platform of state, sat Henrietta Queen of England, the Duchesse d'Orleans, and Mademoiselle. Silence having fallen upon the august assembly, the King rose, and in a steady, sonorous voice thus addressed his subjects:—"Messieurs! I have summoned my Parliament to inform its members that, in accordance with the laws of my realm, it is my intention henceforth to assume the government of my kingdom; and I pray that by the mercy and protection of God Almighty, I may reign in justice, and with prosperity. My Chancellor will inform you further of my will." *

Séguier then stepped forwards, and made the usual oration, in which he extolled the Queen Regent; and

* Registres du Parlement de Paris; Mém. de Talon, Avocat-Général, t. ii.; Mém. de Motteville.

recapitulated some of the chief events of the reign of Louis Treize. This apparently needless retrospect was made to introduce a grand peroration, expressing, in many words, the amazement of the universe, that the Queen Regent had surpassed the renown of that monarch, by greater virtues, and greater deeds; all which glory, nevertheless, was to culminate in the blaze of splendour which would illumine the dawning reign of King Louis Quatorze. Anne of Austria then rose from her throne, and turning towards the King, said in a clear and melodious voice:—

"Monsieur! the ninth year is to-day accomplished since, by the last will and testament of the late King, my honoured lord, I undertook the care of your education, and the government of your realm. God in His goodness has blessed my work, with manifold benedictions, having preserved your royal person, which is dear and precious to me, and to all your loving subjects. The laws of this realm calling you now to assume the government of this great kingdom, I restore to you with infinite satisfaction your sceptre, by which I have hitherto governed; and I pray that Almighty God may endow you with the spirit of Grace, of Power, and of Wisdom, so that your reign may be blessed and glorious, and your people prosperous!"

So saying, Queen Anne descended from her daïs, and kneeling, kissed the King's hand. Louis rose, and embraced his mother with emotion, saying:—"Madame, I thank you from my heart for the trouble which you have taken with my education, and the govern-

ment of this realm! I pray you to continue to me your loving care; and it is my will that henceforth, after myself, you remain the chief personage of my privy council."

Descending from his throne, Louis, with admirable grace, led the Queen back to her chair; then, inclining profoundly before her, he again resumed his seat on the throne. All the princes of the blood—except M. de Condé—the peers of the realm, temporal and spiritual, and the Presidents of the Parliament, then kneeling, took an oath of fidelity, and homage. Many erudite speeches were made, and vows recorded; and day had begun to wane, before King Louis and his splendid *cortège* quitted the precincts of the Palais de Justice.

Thus was the grand reign of Louis Quatorze inaugurated.

To acquire tenfold power and freedom, and to labour with uninterrupted success for the reçall of Mazarin, Anne of Austria lifted from her weary brow the thorny Crown of the Regency.

THE END.

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